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# **CHAITANYA**

**AND**

**HIS COMPANIONS**

# CHAITANYA

AND

## HIS COMPANIONS

(With Two Tri-colour Illustrations.)

(*Being Lectures delivered at the University of  
Calcutta as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow  
for 1913-14*)

By

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To  
The MEMORY of  
**The Late Ramtanu Lahiri**  
These Lectures  
The First Fruit of the Research Fellowship  
Associated with his revered name  
are Respectfully Dedicated  
By the Author.



## INTRODUCTION

In the vast literature of the Vaiṣṇavas, a stress is laid on Prema or spiritual love. It is not that romantic sentiment which a man feels for a woman, nor that a mother feels for her child, though for the purpose of expressing it in literature, it becomes inevitable to adopt the phraseology of human passion. The Chaitanya Charitāmṛta says that an earthly passion is 'Kāma' and not 'Prema.' The former limits the vision to a narrow place, nay darkens it; it does not allow a person to see beyond his self, while the latter (Prema) is like the glorious sun illuminating the truths of the Universe.<sup>1</sup> Chaitanya himself said "the romance of sexual love, often confounded with Prema, is not true love. It is when sexual feeling is totally extinct that true love will grow in the soul."<sup>2</sup>

Prema or spiritual love may grow from earthly passions even in their debased form,

<sup>1</sup> "কাম প্রেম দোহাকার বিভিন্ন লক্ষণ &c. কাম অঙ্গ তদঃ প্রেম নির্মল ভাস্তব।"

Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Adikhanda,

<sup>2</sup> প্রেম প্রেম করে সবে প্রেম জানে কেব।

প্রেমের কি তত্ত্ব হয় রমণীর দেব।

অভেদ পুরুষ নারী যথন জানিবে।

তথন প্রেমের তত্ত্ব অবশ্য স্ফূরিবে॥

অপত্য লাগিয়া আর্তি যদি প্রেম হয়।

তা হইলে প্রেম তত্ত্ব কিছুইত নয়॥

as it did in the case of Bilvamaṅgala Thākur. But in its full blown aspects, it presents an unearthly beauty, as the lily does, growing from the filthy underground soil.

What then is this Prema of the Vaiṣṇavas? The image of Kṛṣṇa is worshipped by them. Whether it be a Christ or a Kṛṣṇa or some other defied Man, no matter, but the image in the temple has some power to attract the soul and lead it to the realization of the highest spiritual joy. When the bells of the Evening Service are rung, the incense is burnt and five lights are waved before the image, the soul endowed with fine susceptibilities often drinks deep joy from an inward source, the nature of which cannot be well defined. To a lover and poet, the image appears not as a gross thing but as something immaterial, a fount of joy and beauty for ever.

Such joys have been tasted by the mystics all over the world. The experiences of St. Theresa, St. John of Cross, Suso, Catherine of Siena, St. Juan and other mystics of Europe offer points of close affinity to those of Čāṇivasa, Narottama, Ćyāmānanda and other Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. What matter, whether it be a Christ or Kṛṣṇa? The spiritual experience, the ecstasies of joy, the exalted emotions and the pain of separation are the same in each case.

To Chaitanya the image of his Kṛṣṇa flashed from all directions in whatever he saw around him. He says :

“Everywhere is the image of Kṛṣṇa presented to the eye. Only those who have attained a clear vision are privileged to see the glorious sight.”<sup>1</sup>

Beyond the phenomena of the world, there is a higher plane, the paradise of the mystics. There a hundred lyres sound the melodious music of a strange land, there a hundred flowers of undecayed blossom send forth their sweet fragrance, and there Beauty herself opens her doors and enters the soul of Man overwhelming it with tender emotions and ecstasies.

Read the portion of Chaitanya Charitāmṛta where Chaitanya at the sight of the temple of Jagannātha wept aloud and uttered ‘Jag’ ‘Jag’—‘Ja,’ half broken words, in his attempts to utter ‘Jagannātha,’ and faltering in his speech fell senseless on the ground in the height of his emotional felicity. Recovering, he recited before Svarūpa Dāmodara a ġloka of Kāvya Prakāṣa, which may be thus freely translated.

“I remember the day when we loved each other on the banks of the Reva. To-day the

<sup>1</sup> সর্বত্র কৃষ্ণের মূর্তি করে বল মল ।

মে দেখিতে পাই যাই আঁধি নিরমল ॥

sweet breeze blows. The Mālatī blooms around and the Kadamva flower, drenched with dew, sends its fragrance, and you my beloved, are present before me here, and so am I before you, the same that I ever was. But yet does my heart long for a union with you in the shades of the cane-bowers on the banks of the Reva.”<sup>1</sup>

This language of earthly passion has borne a spiritual interpretation. The palace of a powerful Rāja was near the temple of Purī. Jagannātha was worshipped with great array and pomp. God-vision was beheld by Chaitanya there though in the midst of earthly splendour; but his soul yearned for it in the sweet retirement of the woodland bowers of Vṛndāvana.

This vision kept him in a highly strung state of emotional joy during his life, and it proved to be the greatest source of attraction to those who beheld it in him. What truth there is in this mystic vision—whether it is the result of a frenzied brain or the disease ‘calipathy’, the name with which Western rationalism has branded it, is a problem which is not for me here to solve. The psychologists will find out the truth on this point. But if it be a disease, how could it

<sup>1</sup> যঃ কৌমারহঃ স এব হি বরশ্মা এব চৈত্রকপা।  
শে চোন্নানিতমালভীশ্বরভঃ প্রোচাঃ কদম্বানিলাঃ  
সা চৈবাঞ্চি তথাপি তত্ত্ব শুরত ব্যাপারলীজাবিধে  
ব্রেবা গ্রোথসি বেতসী তরুতলে চেতঃ সমৃৎকষ্টাতে।

The Kāvya Prakāṣa.

Quoted by Chaitanya Charitamṛta, Madhya, 13th Chapter.

purify hundreds of lives ? Those who were wicked, became good,—the cruel hearts became tender,—the uncharitable hands learnt to distribute charity, and the false became true under its spell. Could a disease ever do that ? A maniac and a diseased brain are despised everywhere. Even the dogs of the streets bark at them. But the mystics are worshipped and their influence works wonders in the moral world.

The vision which the Indian mystics saw was not a matter of chance—aquisition to them. The Vaiṣṇavas have laid down the laws to be observed for the attainment of the plane from which these visions may be beheld, in a comprehensive manner. The moral development should be first of all perfect in one. The next stage is to train the soul to humility and reverence.

“One should be humbler than a straw, more meek and patient than a tree, and without seeking honour for one’s ownself freely give it to others and in humble spirit sing the praises of Kṛṣṇa.”<sup>1</sup>

The psalm XXII says “ But I am a worm and not a man—a reproach of man and despised of the people.”

<sup>1</sup> হৃগানপি শুনীচেন তরোরপি সহিষ্ণুণ।

অমানিবা মানদেন কৌর্তনীয়ঃ সদা ইরঃ॥

This Christian humility is similar to that enjoined in the Vaiṣṇava scriptures.

The tree is the great emblem of religious meekness and sacrifice in the eyes of the Vaiṣṇavas. Chaitanya Charitamīta details some of its features which should be the guide of all seekers of the mystic light.

"The tree does not want a drop of water from anyone though it dries up. It does not speak of the wrongs it suffers, but gives shelter even to one who cuts it with his axe. It exposes itself to sun and rain only to give fruits and flowers to others."

Is not Christ the Tree thus spoken of in Chaitanya Charitamīta ? and here also the Vaiṣṇava ideal has a parallel in Christianity. The tree it might be further said, nourishes itself by the sweet juice it draws from the mother earth, all unseen by others. This is the spring and fountain of its all-sacrificing love. If one nourishes his soul secretly with god's love, like the tree will it give its highest gift to humanity without complaining against the wrongs it may suffer. Even the enemies will have nothing but love from such a soul. When this all-sacrificing love and meekness have been developed in the soul, it will be privileged to enter the mystic plane from which it will see sights of imperishable beauty and hear the sound of that music which never dies away.

My lectures in connection with Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellowship and as a University Reader will unfold the history of the mystics of Bengal derived mainly from the sources of old Bengali literature. I have also tried to draw parallels from the history of Western mystics in several places. As the whole of the past Bengali Literature is permeated by a religious element, I may not, I venture to presume, be blamed, while exploring this literature, for laying stress on its predominant ideas, which are not confined merely to those of a literary nature.

These lectures were delivered by me to the University of Calcutta as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow in the History of Bengali Language and Literature for 1913-1914. The Ramtanu Lahiri Fellowship was created by the University out of the funds supplied by Late Babu Sarat Kumar Lahiri to commemorate his illustrious father's name which the Fellowship bears. Babu Ramtanu Lahiri's name is revered throughout Bengal for his great piety and love of letters. It was, therefore, a fitting tribute to his memory to associate his name with the cause of research in the field of Bengali Literature. I only fear lest I prove unworthy of my task, associated, as it is, with such a dear and revered name.

In conclusion, I must thankfully acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. William Rothenstein who kindly revised the manuscript of these Lectures two years ago. Mr. A. C. Ghatak, Superintendent of the University Press, kindly read some of the proofs for me, but as considerable alterations and additions had to be made subsequently and Mr. Ghatak could not read all the proofs, there have been many printing mistakes in the book and I am sorry they escaped me as I am not a good proof-reader myself.

BEHALA,  
(Near Calcutta) } DINESH CHANDRA SEN.  
*May 18th, 1917.* }

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# CHAITANYA AND HIS COMPANIONS

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## I. Bengal's great love for Chaitanya.

Chaitanya passed away from this world in 1533 A.D. In the eyes of the people he had already become an incarnation of God. The Vaiṣṇava biographers wrote long and erudite memoirs of his life and teachings. The poets sang of his emotional fervour and trances. The sculptors and painters busied themselves in reproducing the beauty of his handsome person and Chaitanya in paintings of the *Sankirtana* scenes where his trances and songs captivated

the soul of the admiring multitude. These were often painted in lacquer on wooden boards used as book covers and produced for the decoration of the Bhāgavata-literature in Bengali from the 16th to the early 18th centuries. Parents in Bengali homes gave to their children those names by which Chaitanya was called, showing how dearly they loved and cherished his memory. Gaurāṅga, Gaur, Chaitanya and Nimāi have since become very common names in this country. Even the beloved city of Nadiyā,

rendered holy by his birth, contributed its share to the forming of a Bengali's name. Nadevāsī,—a resident of Nadiyā, Nagaravasī—a dweller of the city (the city is here Nadiyā), Nader-Chānd or the moon of Nadiyā and its more elegant form Navadvīpa-chandra now became the favourite names in which the Bengalis prided out of their great love and admiration for the Nadiyā-prophet. From Orissa to Manipur through a large tract of country covering an area of about 224750 sq. miles Chaitanya was now worshipped in temples, while the streets of cities and village-paths resounded with his praises in popular songs. The country was full of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs, but in a *Kirtana*, no Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa song could be introduced without a preliminary song in

The Gaurachandrikā honour of Gaurachandra (Chaitanya) and this preliminary song was called Gaurachandrikā. The love songs of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, which had a deep spiritual significance long before the advent of Chaitanya, became now thoroughly idealised and bore another beautiful symbolic meaning in which the love-eestasies of Chaitanya formed a charming background. In the midst of the loud music of *tambourine* and the shrill clang of *cymbals*, the Gaurachandrikā sounded the keynote of a new phase of Vaiṣṇavism in which the incidents of Chaitanya's life illustrated in a concrete form the high spiritual philosophy

of the sect. The rustics and the unclean castes particularly showed a frenzied fervour in singing the praises of one who had opened the portals of brotherhood to all men irrespective of caste. Sometimes for whole nights they would be seen dancing in joy and singing his name in the small courtyards facing their straw-roofed huts. The Vaiṣṇava singers visited the house of the rich and the poor alike every morning, and sang that sweet couplet which Nityānanda, the great apostle, had himself composed during the life-time of Chaitanya:—

“Sing praises of Chaitanya,  
A favourite  
couplet. brother, and take his name.  
One who loves him is dear to me as my life.”<sup>1</sup>

In short, love for Chaitanya had entered deep into the heart of rural Bengal and this can be said of none other of her sons with equal force.

In his life-time also this great love for him was manifest among the rich and the poor, the literate and unlettered alike. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, the greatest Indian logician of the age, honoured in the court of Rājā Pratāparudra of Orissa—was defeated by Chaitanya in a public debate, and when Chaitanya by his devotion and trances showed himself far above the plane of scholarship, his learned

The apprecia-  
tion by scholars.

“ভজ গৌরাঙ্গ কহ গৌরাঙ্গ লহ গৌরাঙ্গের নাম।

যে জন গৌরাঙ্গ ভজে সে জন আমার প্রণ ॥”

antagonist threw himself at his feet and regarded him rather as a God than as a man. His passionate panegyrie of Chaitanya still vibrates with all the warmth of true poetry in his celebrated Sanskrit hymns.<sup>1</sup> The veteran scholar's vehement admiration for Chaitanya also found expression in his exclamation quoted in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* (Madhya Khaṇḍa).

“Even if my sons die or a thunder bolt falls  
on my head  
I can bear it, but I cannot bear parting with  
Chaitanya.”<sup>2</sup>

Prakāṣṭananda, the leader of the learned Sannyāsīs of Benares, found himself in a like manner unable to meet the scholarly arguments of Chaitanya; but when the latter revealed himself as a Lover of God, the great ascetic of Benares discovered in him far higher qualities than those of a mere scholar, and accepted him as his saviour and god.<sup>3</sup> Bhāratī Gosāin of Chandīpur was the foremost scholar of the Deccan at the time. Govinda Dās, one of the biographers of Chaitanya, gives a detailed account of how this scholar was made to acknow-

<sup>1</sup> See his hymns to Chaitanya quoted by Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*.

<sup>2</sup> “শিরে বজ্র পড়ে যদি পুত্র মরি যায়  
অভূত বিরহ বাণ সহা নাহি যায়।”

*Chaitanya charitāmṛta.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*.

ledge the greatness of Chaitanya and accept him as his Guru. By the conversion of these three leading scholars of the three different parts of the country Chaitanya's greatness as a scholar was admitted all over India.

As time advanced he showed, however, a growing aversion for scholarly disputations of all sorts. In most cases he remained silent to the enthusiastic challenge of scholars and would simply smile and nod his head declining to enter into a debate, and saying that he admitted the

Aversion for theological disputes. superiority of his assailants unconditionally. But the irresistible charm of his love-eccstasies had a far more convincing effect than scholarship and humbled the proudest scholars and convinced them of the beauty of spiritual life.

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## *II. Chaitanya and Pratāparudra.*

As Orissa had become the chief theatre of Vaiṣṇava activities during 1516-1533, the period when Chaitanya lived there, Pratāparudra, the king of the place having been one of his staunchest followers—I shall here briefly relate certain facts about the latter which may be of some interest to the students of Vaiṣṇava literature.

Puruṣottama Deva, father of Pratāparudra, ascended the throne of Orissa in 1478 A.D. He took a fancy for the princess of Kānjavare, a remarkable beauty, and wanted to marry her. The king of Kanjivarem rejected his proposal on the ground that the king of Orissa, according to an old custom, served as sweeper in the Jagannātha temple for a day every year.<sup>1</sup> Puruṣottama Deva on hearing that his proposal was declined took an oath that at any cost he would carry the

Puruṣottama  
Deva and  
Padmavati.

<sup>1</sup> We find in the Chaitanya Charitamrta (Madhya Khanda, Chap. XIV) Raja Prataparudra acting as sweeper with a golden broom in the temple of Jagannātha. Cool water perfumed with sandal was employed for cleansing the doorways of the temple by the royal sweeper. Here are the lines:

“তবে প্রতাপকুমাৰ কৰে আপনি দেবন ।  
মুৰগি মার্জনী লঞ্চা কৰে পথ নশ্বার্জন ॥  
চলন জলেতে কৰে পথ নিষিঙ্গন ॥”

princess by force and marry her to a real sweeper. He fought a hard battle and defeating the Rājā of Kānjivarem seized the fair princess and carried her away to Puri. True to his oath, however, he made over the princess Padmāvatī to his chief minister desiring him to wed her to a sweeper. The minister as well as the people of Puri all commiserated her misfortune, and at the next Ratha Yātrā ceremony when the Rājā began to perform the office of Chandāl (sweeper) with a golden broom, the individual entrusted with the charge of the lady brought her forth and presented her to him, saying "You are the sweeper upon whom I bestow her." Moved by the intercession of his subjects, the Rājā at last consented to marry Padmāvatī and carried her to his palace at Cuttaek. The narrative is given in detail in a Uriyā poem called the Kānjikāverī Punthī and in all the important histories of Orissa. Orme mentions the tradition of this incident (Vol. II), though there are some discrepancies in his account as to the details.

Rājā Pratāparudra was the only son of Rājā Puruṣottama Deva and Rāṇī Padmāvatī and ascended the throne of Orissa in 1503 A.D. Mr. A. Stirling, the historian of Orissa, says of this monarch : "His wisdom and learning soon became the theme and admiration of the whole country.

Pratāparudra's  
scholarship and  
valour.

He had studied deeply all the Çāstras and was very fond of disputing and conversing on points of theology and he introduced many curious constructions of his own and doctrines which were altogether new. He was withal devout and built many temples. His skill in the art of war and civil government was eminent ; in short he was equally celebrated as an able, learned and warlike and religious prince.”<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stirling then writes at some length about the overthrow of Buddhism in Orissa and the influence of Chaitanya over the king and says, “The Rājā who could find leisure for schemes of conquest and controversies marched with his army down to Setubandha Rāmeçvara, reduced several forts and took the famous city of Vijayanagar. The Mahomedans of the Deccan also gave abundant occupation to his arms on the southern frontier of the Rāj ; and whilst he was occupied in repelling or provoking their attacks, the Afghans from Bengal made an inroad into the Province in great force—when the Governor Ananta Singhar finding himself unable to oppose any effectual resistance took refuge in the strong fortress of Sarangher, south of the Kātjuḍī.” The Mahomedans committed dreadful devastations. “But Rājā Pratāparudra

<sup>1</sup> History of Orissa by A. Stirling, Esq., printed at the De's Utkal Press, 131, Matiganj Street, Balasore, 1891, p. 131.

on receiving intelligence of these disastrous occurrences hastened back from the Deccan and performing a journey of months in a few days he came up with the invading army before they had left Kṣetra, gave them battle and destroyed a great number of Mahomédans."<sup>1</sup>

The destruction of Hindu temple by the Afghans referred to above are mentioned in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta and other Bengali works of the Vaiśṇavas. Husen Sāhā, the Emperor of Gaur, had himself led these expeditions. After this Pratāparudra contemplated the conquest of Bengal in order to avenge himself upon Husen Sāhā for the harm done by the latter to his territories, but desisted from doing so out of humane considerations for the Hindus of Bengal to whom great sufferings would be caused by such an expedition.<sup>2</sup>

According to Ferista's account there were some local revolutions between 1493 and 1524 in the kingdom of Vijaynagar and Pratāparudra availed himself of this opportunity of extending his kingdom in the South. In 1524, however, Rājā Kṛṣṇa Rāy ascended the throne of Vijaynagar and ruled the kingdom with great vigour and tact. He successfully coped with the Mahomedans in the field and made a treaty with

<sup>1</sup> History of Orissa by A. Stirling, Esq., p. 133

<sup>2</sup> See Chaitanya Maṅgala by Jayanaṇda.

Pratāparudra by marrying his daughter. According to Mr. Stirling, Pratāparudra reigned from 1503 to 1524. But the date of his death (1524) is open to objection. When Chaitanya came to Puri, in 1510 the king was away, fighting with the Rājā of Vijaynagar in the Deccan. Returning shortly after he heard of the arrival of Chaitanya in his capital, he begged an interview with him. He addressed a letter to Sārvabhauma requesting him to get Chaitanya to agree, Sārvabhauma wrote in reply that Chaitanya was not willing to comply with his Majesty's request. The Rājā wrote letters to the companions of Chaitanya severally asking them to intercede in his behalf; but Chaitanya refused them saying that as a *sannyāsī* he should keep himself as far as possible away from the fountain of earthly power and riches.

Chaitanya refuses to see the Rājā

Sad at heart Pratāparudra continued his attempts to interview Chaitanya. He sent his minister Rāmānanda Rāy who was a friend of Chaitanya to plead his cause before him. Chaitanya said to him, "A *sannyāsī* should be blameless in thought, in speech and in act. A familiarity with the king is sure to bring in its train a connection with the world which I have renounced and I can by no means allow it." The outer robe of Chaitanya was carried by Rāma Rāy to the king who accepted it as a sacred

thing with tears in his eyes, since he was not to have a visit from Chaitanya himself.

The Ratha Yātrā or the Car festivities of Jagannātha drew near. The king was sorry not to be permitted to see Chaitanya which even the meanest of his subjects could do. He was advised by Kāçī Miçra, in whose house Chaitanya stayed, to wait for the occasion of the march of the Great Car when Chaitanya with his party would come out in the streets singing the *Kīrtana* songs. The Rājā ascended the roof of his palace and saw the procession. When he

The origin of Kīrtana songs. heard the *Kīrtana* songs he was beside himself in admiration and said to Gopīnātha Miçra, "Never did

I hear such melodious songs in my life. The very tune captivates my soul. Whence could they have learnt this strange musical mode?"

Gopīnātha replied, "This *Kīrtana* song which is not comparable to any earthly music originated with Chaitanya." The followers of Chaitanya had all assembled at Puri and joined the procession, and Gopīnātha, at the bidding of the king, mentioned the names and qualifications of each, and the Rājā from that distance saw the figure of Chaitanya in the centre of the procession, looking more like a God than a man; he was in one of those trances in which silent tears bespoke his great emotion and love for the Unseen. The Rājā's mind was filled with admiration but he

did not find chance for an interview on this occasion.

But an opportunity soon presented itself. In the courtyard of Kāçī Miçra Chaitanya had his trance again and was unconscious of the outer world—in the arms of Nityānanda, whilst his companions enthusiastically sang *Kirtana* songs around him. The Rājā instructed by Sārvabhauma suddenly stole into the assembly and fell at his feet. Chaitanya, regaining consciousness, beheld the king and said, “Woe to me, I have touched one given to worldly power and wealth.” When the Rājā heard this he burst into tears and said, “Here do I forego all my power and wealth and surrender them at your feet. Take me, master, as the meanest of those that love you.” Chaitanya was overcome by these words. He embraced the Rājā in love and the latter—a tall and robust man—became

The interview. all tears in joy. Rāmānanda Rāy,

the author of the celebrated Sanskrit drama “Jagannātha Vallabha” refers to this occasion in the following passage: “This is indeed a marvel. Rājā Pratāparudra, who is a terror to the Pāthans, whose physical might surpasses that of most men, whose iron contact is dreaded by the strongest of wrestlers, has melted like a soft thing at the touch of Chaitanya.” Govinda Dāsa, the contemporary biographer of Chaitanya records “whenever Chaitanya walked



CHAITANYA AND PRATAPRUDRA

Painted in lacquer on wooden board meant to be a book-cover of a MS. of Bhagavatam, c. 15th century  
The board is in the Library of the Calcutta University.



in the streets with a large crowd of men following him with song, music and dance, Rājā Pratāparudra walked on bare feet behind them all like the humblest of his subjects.”<sup>1</sup>

At one time Chaitanya was asked by some of his companions to speak a word to the Rājā on behalf of a criminal named Gopīnātha Rāy who was sentenced to death. He was a brother of Rāmānanda Rāy— a friend of Chaitanya. The family of the Rāys was devoted to the Master and this was made a plea for the request. Chaitanya said, “I am sorry for him, but I have no sympathy with his crime. You may pray to God for him. You put me in a very delicate position by asking me— a beggar—to intercede for him. It is for this reason that I wanted to avoid a familiarity with the Rājā. It only makes me sad to think of the misfortunes of worldly men. After this my stay at Purī is no longer fitting.” He got ready to go to Ālānātha, and when the king heard of this from Kāçī Miçra he released the criminal simply

because the matter was brought

Chaitanya's unwillingness to meddle in worldly affairs. to the notice of Chaitanya. The latter on hearing of this said to Kāçī Miçra, “What have you

<sup>1</sup> ନଗର କୌର୍ତ୍ତନେ ସବେ ମହାପ୍ରତ୍ଯ ସାର ।

ଦୀନ ବେଶେ ମହାରାଜ ପେଚୁ ପେଚୁ ସାର ॥

done, Miçra? You should not have represented me as a suppliant before the king." The Rājā interviewed Chaitanya and said, "If you leave my capital I shall turn an ascetic or commit suicide."<sup>1</sup>

In the wilds of the Deccan—Chaitanya, accompanied by the blacksmith Govinda, wandered visiting the holy places. With a torn rag for his dress, his body covered with mud and dirt, he walked like a mad man through untrodden paths; children threw dust at him and clapped their hands saying, "Lo! there goes the ascetic mad after God."

*His frenzies of love.* He gazed at the sky and saw his

Kṛṣṇa mirrored there; the rainbow to him was the crown of Kṛṣṇa; the flying cranes a string of white pearls on his breast; the flash of lightning like Kṛṣṇa's purple robes; and the dark-blue colour of the clouds again and again called up the vision of Kṛṣṇa's figure. Every river that he saw was to him the sacred Yamunā on whose banks Kṛṣṇa had sported, every forest wore to his eyes, the beauty and sacredness of the Vṛndā groves—the resort of Kṛṣṇa. Sometimes as at the village Ghogā in Gujrāt he clasped a Nim tree covered with dark-blue leaves and thought that the touch was of Kṛṣṇa, soft

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<sup>1</sup> The details about Chaitanya's interview and conversations with Rājā Pratoparudra are to be found in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta by Kṛṣṇā Dāsa Kavirāja and in the works of Kavi Karpurapura.

and sweet, and for the whole day he lay unconscious as if in the arms of his Lover while tears trickled down his cheeks. Sometimes he nodded his head to and fro seeing some celestial vision and remained mute for days while tears alone indicated his joy in communion with God. Often three or even four days passed in this condition during which he would neither speak nor touch any food. When he came to Trivancore in 1511 A.D. Rājā Rudrapati, the reigning monarch, paid a visit to him and was so much impressed by the ardour of his faith and the beauty of his trances that he paid him the same homage of worship as he did to his tutelary God.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For details of the above narratives the reader is referred to the *Kadehā* by Govinda Dāsa.

### *III. Interview with Sanātana and Rūpa.*

Sākar Mallik and Dabir Khās, two Brāhmaṇ scholars who had adopted Mahomedan names and habits of life, were the ministers of Husen Sābā, the Emperor of Gauda. They were brothers and their expert knowledge of Sanskrit poetry was equalled by none in Bengal at the time. They saw Chaitanya first at Rāmakelī, a town near Gauda, and felt that they had met the greatest poet ever born in the world. It appeared to them after their interview with him that the universe was a poem and that the spiritual soul alone was privileged to read its deep poetry. They parted from Chaitanya completely changed men. Chaitanya gave the brothers Hindu names and they were henceforth to be called Sanātana and Rūpa, by which names they have since been known in the field of Sanskrit drama, theology and poetry, and in fact in all the writings of the Vaiṣṇavas.

Rūpa's mind now yearned for that life which is freed from the worry of the world but is devoted to the good of the world, which does not seek its final rest in the Nirvāṇa or in the extinction of passions but that which brings something positive, once a victory over passion has been won, *viz.*, the realization of God in the soul.

While in this state of mind an incident took place which was a turning point in his life. The following anecdote is related of Rūpa, who was only 27 years old at the time, in the *Premavilāsa* by Nityānanda Dāsa.

*The anecdote of the burning of a rich garment* Rūpa came home one night very late after doing some important State work. After retiring to rest he was bitten by a poisonous insect. His room was dark and Rūpa called out to his wife asking her to light a candle immediately. But the good wife in her haste could not find a candle. The silken robe of her husband embroidered with gold was near the bed and she lighted a fire with it. Rūpa said, "You have spoilt a costly garment in this way!" The wife said, "My duty is to minister to your comforts and I have done my duty. Precious stones or silken robes are nothing to me when that duty is to be done." Rūpa said, "My darling, you have done your duty to your lord but I have not done mine. I have hitherto only occupied myself with precious stones and silken robes." Early in the morning the next day he took the beggar's bowl in his hand, clad himself in rags and left his palatial house. Before starting he distributed his treasure in the following way: One half to the poor and to Brāhmaṇ scholars; one-fourth reserved for the maintenance of his family and an equal amount

he left to his elder brother Sanātana. On coming to Allahabad he wrote the following metrical epistle in Sanskrit to Sanātana :

"Where is now gone, alas, the splendour of Mathurā, once the capital of the lord of Yādavas and where, alas, is that of Uttara Kośalā, the kingdom of the lord of the Raghus! Think of the fleeting nature of earthly glory and decide the course you should take."<sup>1</sup>

Rūpa met Chaitanya at Benares where the latter took pains to instruct him in the cardinal points of the Vaiṣṇava religion. His instructions are given in detail in the Chaitanya Charitā-mīṭa. Chaitanya ordered him to go to Vṛndāvana and write poems and dramas in Sanskrit elucidating the principles of spiritual love. The works that he wrote at the bidding of the Master such as the Lalita-mādhava, the Bidagdhrumādhava, the Dānakeli-kaumudi etc., are now the master-pieces of mediaeval Sanskrit Literature.

Rūpa's works. Sanātana, who too was no less attracted by Chaitanya's personality, when he received the verses from his brother finally made up his mind to renounce the world and take the ascetic's

“মনুপতেঃ ক গতামথুরাপুরী  
রম্পুতেঃ ক গতেবকেশলা।  
ইতি'বিচিন্তা মনঃ কুর সুস্থিরঃ  
নসদিদঃ জগদিদ্যব ধারয় ।”

vow. He did not attend the Emperor's court for some days and a report was spread that he was ill. Husen Shā, after Rupa's adoption of asceticism, had his suspicions about Sanatana and was on the alert. He sent a physician to examine if the minister was really ill. The physician came back to him and reported that

The report of Sanatana's illness so far as he could judge, Sanatana had no illness. The king was angry and called his minister to his presence. Sanatana could not hide his thoughts from his master, and Husen Sha trying in vain to dissuade him from his contemplated course got very much annoyed and ordered him to be thrown into prison. Just at that time the king was called away from Gauda to fight his enemies abroad, and the relatives of Sanatana offered the jailer a bribe of Rs. 5,000, which in the 16th century was at least 15 times its present value, for setting the ex-minister at liberty. Mir Habul, the jailer, was at first afraid of the Emperor and declined to take the risk. Next they offered him Rs. 7,000,<sup>1</sup> the jailer accepted the offer but felt the danger of such a course and sought advice as to how he could avert it.

His flight He was told that it might be stated that the minister was taken to the

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<sup>1</sup> In some of the Vaiṣṇava works the amount is stated to be a lakh of rupees. But we accept the statement of the Chaitanya Charitamṛta and other authentic works on this point.

Ganges for a bath and he disappeared while bathing. Sanātana was thus set at liberty. He lost not a moment but at once left Gauda as an ascetic accompanied by a servant named Īcāna. He crossed the Ganges and arrived a few days after at the foot of a small hillock called Patra. Īcāna had taken 15 gold mohars without the knowledge of his master.

15 Gold Mohars  
attraeta robber. They had however subsisted on fruits and fountain-water for a few days and reaching a village at Patra became the guests of a respectable-looking man. He was called Bhuyā. The unusually warm attention this man paid to his guests roused suspicions in the mind of Sanātana who asked Īcāna if he had brought any money from home. Īcāna said he had 15 gold mohars with him. Sanātana paid 14 mohars to his host who was really a robber in disguise. The man made no secret of his intentions but said he would have murdered them at night if the money were not paid. The remaining one gold mohar was paid back by Sanātana to Īcāna who was ordered to leave the place and return home at once since he still cared for money.

Sanātana, now left alone, slept under the shadow of trees at night and passed through great hardships. It is related in the Prema-vilāsa that on one occasion he laid himself down on the bare earth in a field for sleep,

making pillows with brickbats and clods of earth to rest his head, hands, and feet on. An old woman passed by and was heard to make the following reflection: "The ascetic must have

The lesson received from an old woman. belonged to a noble and rich family; he has left his riches but cannot dispense with his old habits."

Sanātana as he heard this rose up and bowed to the woman and said "You have indeed given me a lesson, good mother. Old habits and modes of life are so difficult to avoid that I shall try to be born anew in my spiritual life from now."<sup>1</sup>

Sanātana came to Hajipur and, dressed in rags, lay under the shadow of a tree singing the praises of God and prayed to Him to grant him a speedy interview with Chaitanya. His brother-in-law, Ćrikāṇṭha, happened to pass by the way where he lay. Ćrikāṇṭha was sent by Husen Shā with three lakhs of rupees for purchasing horses at Hajipur. He could barely recognise Sanātana in that condition and was moved to tears

Interview with Ćrikāṇṭha. seeing the great minister reduced to such a plight. "I am happy", said Sanātana, "happier now than ever I was." It was January and the sharp winter-wind blew, the biting cold eating, as it were, into the very bones. Ćrikāṇṭha said, "If

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote is related in the *Premavilasabhy* Nityananda. The succeeding narratives about Sanātana are mostly taken from the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*.

you must remain an ascetic and will not alter your way of life, pray take this shawl to cover your body with." The rich shawl Sanātana declined to accept. Next a valuable wrapper was offered which Sanātana declined also.

But Črīkantha would not allow him to go without putting something warm round his body for protection from cold and forced him to wear a coarse blanket of the value of Rs. 3. Sanātana went to Benares and met Chaitanya. The interview was full of pathos. The ex-minister said, "I am an outcast. Admittance to your presence is admittance to heaven. If you would condescend to accept it, here do I offer my body and soul for your service." Chaitanya received him with great kindness, and Sanātana took leave of him for a few minutes in order to give away his blanket to a beggar, for he had seen

The blanket course worth Chaitanya glancing at it several times while speaking to him.<sup>1</sup> When

with a coarse cotton rag that he had received from the beggar in return he came to Chaitanya again, the latter said, "delighted am I, that you have now parted with all that is worldly. Now vision of God will be clear to you."

Sanātana went to Mathurā in order to have an interview with his brother Rūpa and thence

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<sup>1</sup> "ভেটি কখলের পানে অঙ্গ চাহে বারেবার" *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*.

returned to Purī to meet Chaitanya again. He came by the woodland path of Jhari Khaṇḍa (Chota Nagpur). The dirty water and moist air of the forests brought on eczema all over Sanātana's body. In this plight he arrived at Purī. He thought of his sins and this weighed on his mind. He was fallen from the Brāhmaṇic order and would have no access to the temple of Jagannātha; but when the image of that deity would be brought out on its Car in May, he determined that he would make an offer of his body to the god and die under the wheels of the Great Car. "My body full of this foul eczema and burdened with sins will be of no use and as a punishment for my sins I will thus die here."

Sanātana afflicted with eczema. With this determination he called on Hari Dāsa, the Mahomedan convert to Vaiṣṇavism and resided with him in his cell; for as he was an outcast now he dared not go to the house of the Brāhmaṇ Kāçinātha Miṭra where Chaitanya lived.

Chaitanya used to come often to Hari Dāsa's place, and Sanātana thought that he might be permitted an opportunity to meet him there. As expected Chaitanya called on Hari Dāsa one day; but Sanātana, full of remorse for his sins, distressed by his eczema and with his accustomed humility, retreated into a corner of the room and saw the Master from afar with tearful eyes. When Chaitanya saw him he ran to meet him and

Sanātana shrinking a little away said, "Master, I am full of sins and my body is afflicted with eczema. It should not be touched by you." Chaitanya at once embraced him inspite of his remonstrances, saying, "Your dear self, Sanātana, is my constant joy." Sanātana was sorry to see Chaitanya's body marked with discharges from his eczema. Anupama, one of the brothers of Sanātana, had died shortly before, and Chaitanya alluded to his high character and faith with respect. He made enquiries, as to what Sanātana thought of Mathura and in many sweet and kind words parted from him that day.

But Sanātana was sad at heart inspite of the kind treatment he had received from the Master and meeting the young scholar, Jagadānanda, one of Chaitanya's constant companions, thus spoke to him, "Woe to me, that I came here. Our dear Master touches my body afflicted with eczema. I am deeply depressed with the weight of my sins but now it breaks my heart to see the Master embrace my loathsome body." Jagadānanda did not like Chaitanya to receive Sanātana with open arms and come in contact with his diseased body, but without mentioning it he said, "It would be better for you to go back to Jagadānanda's advice. Mathurā or Vṛndāvana. I heard once that the Master wanted you to go there." Next day when Chaitanya came as

usual he again embraced Sanātana and said, "Do not think of putting an end to your life under the wheels of the Car of Jagannātha. It is a sin to commit suicide. This grief and remorse that you feel for your sin is unholy if it leads to suicide. God's grace is to be obtained by love and self-dedication and not by suicide." And Sanātana wondered how Chaitanya could know his innermost thoughts. Then Chaitanya said again, "This body of yours, you told me at our first meeting, you had dedicated to me. It is mine now and you cannot use it as you wish. By my mother's will I have to live at Puri and I cannot violate her orders. But much remains to be done in the upcountry where people are illiterate and without faith in God. There you will have to work and employ your talents and learning, writing beautiful books on the cult of faith." Saying this Chaitanya again embraced him to his great dismay, and Sanātana was down on his knees and implored "Master, do not do so. My heart breaks at this. See, my body is vile, it is full of eczema and untouchable." And Chaitanya said, "Who said that your body is vile and untouchable, Sanātana? A selfless god-loving spirit dwells in your body. Your embrace is sweet to me as nector." Sanātana fell at Chaitanya's feet with tears and said that he had Jagadānanda's advice to go to Vṛndāvana in order to avoid the contact of his

body with the Master's. Chaitanya was angry when he heard this and said, "A young scholar Jagadānanda dares to advise a veteran like you!

<sup>'Your praises  
bitter as nim  
juice.'</sup> He is impudent and foolish. I am an ascetic, and it is well known that to one who takes that sacred vow, ashes and sandal marks are of the same value. An ascetic must have contempt for none but should have kindness for all living beings. The youngster is conceited enough to teach his superiors in this way." Sanātana in humble words addressed Chaitanya and said, "Master, fortunate is Jagadānanda. Your abuse of him only shows the great familiarity and love in which you hold him; whereas the formal respect that you pay me shows me far away from your heart. He drinks the nectar of sweet familiarity at your hands but your praises seem bitter to me as the juice of Nim-fruit, only proving that I am not one of those blessed men who belong to your own circle."<sup>11</sup> Chaitanya was abashed a little at these remarks and said, "No Sanātana, this is no vain glorification, I assure you. I have a real admiration for your faith, your self-sacrifice and for the spirit of humility becoming a truly spiritual soul. Jagadānanda is only a boy and far below you as

"জগদানন্দে পীয়াও আকীয়তা শুধা রামে ।

মোর পিয়াও গৌরব স্বতি নিষ্ঠ নিষিদ্ধা রামে ॥"

a scholar and should not have dared advise you.” On another occasion Chaitanya had gone to Yameçawra Totā and sent a man to Sanātana wishing the latter to meet him. It was midday and the sun had scorched the sands, and Sanātana on bare feet gladly trod the sands which burnt his toes. When he came to the Master, he marked the burns on Sanātana’s toes and asked by what way he had come. Sanātana replied, “It was by the sandy shore of the sea.” Chaitanya

Burnt toes again asked why he did not come

by the main road leading to the gate of the Temple. Sanātana humbly replied, “I am an outcaste : the Brāhmaṇas there might take objection.” Chaitanya pointed to the burns and regretted the pain they must have caused him. Sanātana said, “I was not aware of these till now. I was so glad that the Master called me ; I thought of nothing else.” Whereupon Chaitanya said, with a voice that trembled in emotion, “Your touch will sanctify the holiest of temples and the most pure of the Brāhmaṇas. Your faith and love for God is such that the angels of heaven may sit at your feet and receive lessons from you ; but still you do not violate the local rules of the Temple. It only shows your high breeding and noble character.”<sup>1</sup>

Sanātana stayed at Puri for some months

<sup>1</sup> “মন্ত্রপি তুমি হও জগৎ পাবন।  
তোমা স্মর্ণে পবিত্র হয় দে— মুনিগণ ॥

during which he got cured of his eczema; and after beholding the Dol Yātrā ceremony of Kṛṣṇa took leave of Chaitanya and started for Vṛndāvana. Before leaving Purī he took notes from Valadeva Achāryā, a companion of Chaitanya as to the route followed by Chaitanya

Sanātana starts for Vṛndāvana. when he visited Vṛndāvana. The places where Chaitanya had halted were specially marked. He visited

them all with great reverence considering them as holy places. Rūpa had come back to Purī a year before, so that when Sanātana arrived at Vṛndāvana he did not meet his brother. But Rūpa returned to Vṛndāvana after some months, and both the brothers now busied themselves in writing books in Sanskrit on the doctrines of faith as taught them by the Master. But I shall write in some detail about the work they did in Vṛndāvana in the course of my lectures.

তথাপি ভক্ত স্বভাব মর্যাদা রক্ষণ ।

মর্যাদা রাখিলে তুষ্ট হৈল মোর মন ॥

তুমি ঐছে না করিলে আর করিব কোন জন ।

*Chaitanya Charitāmṛta.*

#### *IV. Advaitāchārya.*

Next to Chaitanya the two most illustrious apostles of the Vaiṣṇava faith in Bengal were Nityānanda and Advaitāchārya. Their names are now inseparable from Chaitanya. Advaitāchārya was the title, the real name of the apostle being Kamalākara Bhāttāchārya. He was an inhabitant of Lāur in Sylhet and was born in 1434 A.D., or 52 years before Chaitanya. His great scholarship, especially in the Upaniṣadas, was much admired. He was descended from Nṛsinha Nāriēl, the prime minister of Rājā Ganeṣa ('Kans' of Mahomedan historians), who is said to have succeeded in killing the Emperor of Gauḍa by following the statesmanly advices

of his minister.<sup>1</sup> Advaita's father,

His ancestor Nṛsinha Nāriēl. Nāvā, was a courtier of Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, the Rājā of Lāur, and the family enjoyed the esteem and confidence of people of the locality. Advaita first took his lesson in Sanskrit from Čāntāchārya, a renowned scholar of Čāntipur, and came to Navadvīpa to complete his studies and settled at Čāntipur, residing for the most part at Navadvīpa. His pious life, scholarly attainments, and spiritual faith marked him out as a conspicuous figure in Navadvīpa. It is said that he was deeply grieved

<sup>1</sup> See Advaita Prakāṣa by Iṣaṇa Nagora.

to mark the materialistic tendencies of the age. The people of Navadvīpa—the greatest centre of learning in India at that period—paid great attention to studies but were, it is alleged by the contemporary Vaiṣṇava historians, without any

Learning without faith.

faith in God. They pursued learning for secular objects and even for its own sake, but none cared to

interpret the Čāstras in the light of faith. The rich spent huge sums of money in the marriage of their children and in the worship of Vāsuli and other local deities. The streets of Navadvīpa resounded with songs in honour of the Pāla kings which were very popular at the time. Vṛndāvana Dāsa, the contemporary historian, regrets that thus did they all spend their lives in vain. Advaita's mind yearned for faith in God and it is believed by the Vaiṣṇavas and is written in their holy books that Chaitanya came

Advaita's prayer.

to the world in response to Advaita's earnest appeal to the Most High to send some one into the world who would teach faith and remove the sophistical tendencies of the age.

Vieḍvarupa, the elder brother of Chaitanya, had taken Samnyāsa and left home in his 16th year; he was never since heard of. Their mother Çacī had lost eight daughters, and on the eve of Chaitanya's samnyāsa her husband Jagannāth Miṭra had also died. She had none

left in the world amongst her numerous children except Chaitanya. The Sannyāsa of Chaitanya was disastrous to her material prospects. It was but natural that Chaitanya should have a deep feeling for his mother throughout his life. Though he had taken the Sannyāsa vow which required a person never to revisit his native village or his home in life, Chaitanya had promised his mother that he would never remain very far away from her, for any length of time. And he kept his promise by staying at Puri from where constant

messages about him reached her.

Gacī charge  
Advaita with  
turning the  
head of her Chaitanya used to send Pañdit Jagadānanda to his mother every year with many endearing words of affection. On one occasion he sent this message: "You are old now, my mother. I should have stayed with you and ministered to your comfort. This was my sacred duty. But my head turned away and I violated this duty; forgive me, a mad child, for this my sin, and know me, dear mother, to be your little darling as ever."<sup>1</sup> He added to such messages, "Mother, your kitchen is a holy place where I have taken the food cooked by your dear hands. When you cook your meal, know, that I shall always be there in spirit."<sup>2</sup> But Chaitanya's memories and associations

<sup>1</sup> Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Madhya Khaṇḍa, Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup> Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Madhya Khaṇḍa, Chapter III.

passed away like a flash of lightning as soon as they arose in his mind. After having delivered such messages he became unconscious of the outer-world passing into one of his trances, enjoying the inward union with his God.

When Chaitanya first began to manifest that devotion to God which eventually resulted in his adopting the vow of Sannyāsa, Čačī, his mother, made Advaita responsible for it. She wept and said, "Who says that Advaita is a great sage? He turned the head of my eldest son, bright as the moon, by his sophistry and made him leave home as a Sannyāsī for ever. Not satisfied with this he is now trying a similar experiment of his teachings on this young lad (Chaitanya)."

During more than half a century Advaita was an esteemed figure amongst the Vaiṣṇavas of Navadvīpa. Chaitanya after his Sannyāsa paid a visit to him at his house at Čāntipur. He stayed at the place for 10 days and Advaita then aged 75, sang and danced like a young man in the *Kīrtana* party that assembled round Chaitanya. When the latter was about to depart, the old man sobbed and cried like a child and followed Chaitanya for a long space. Chaitanya said on the occasion, "Oh thou venerable scholar, if thou beavest in this way, how

"কে বলে আইতে হয় এ বড় গোসাই ।

চলসম এক পুত্র করিয়া বাহির  
এই পুত্র না দিলেন করিবারে স্থির ॥"

will my mother control her feelings. I leave her in thy care."

Advaita paid visits to Chaitanya at Puri with other residents of Navadvīpa once every year. The Premavilāsa writes that at one time he deviated a little from the Vaiṣṇava conception of Bhakti and taught the doctrines of Jñāna as he had learnt of old. A meeting with Chaitanya completely reformed him and since then and all through his long career he remained firm in the cause of Bhakti as taught by Chaitanya and formed one of the blessed trio of whom the other two were Chaitanya himself and Nityānanda. The Premavilāsa writes that Advaita's two disciples Kāmadeva Nagara of Guzrat and Čaṅkara could by no means be led to accept the tenets of the emotional creed of the Vaiṣṇavas, but remained Vedāntists, and when Advaita was once more reconciled with Chaitanya, they left their teacher and the country for good.

According to the Premavilāsa Advaita died in the year 1539, but according to Advaitaprakāṣa by Īśāna Nagara, in 1584. The latter statement carries the apostle's earthly career to the utmost span of human life, *ciz.*, 125 years. For obvious historical reasons we are inclined to credit the statement of the Premavilāsa. The descendants of Advaita live mainly at Čāntipur up to this date. The piety, high character and fervour of

faith of Advaita's wife, Sītā, have been made the subjects of memoirs of many Vaiṣṇava writers. Sītā and Ārī, the two wives of Advaita, were

His wives. daughters of Narasiṁha Bhāduḍī

by his wife, Menakā. The couple were the inhabitants of the village Nārāyaṇpur near Sātgāon in the Hughli district. Among the numerous disciples of Advaita, the name

Crīnatha Ācarya. of Crīnātha Ācārya, the Guru of Kavī Karṇapura and author of the celebrated commentary of the Bhāgavata called "Chaitanya Mālā Manjusa," deserves a prominent mention.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the Premavilāsa, Ch. xxv.

## *V. Nityānanda.*

Though junior to Advaita by many years, Nityānanda occupies the second place in the trio according to popular estimation. The organisation of the Vaiṣṇava community in its later forms was eminently due to this apostle. His compassion for the depressed castes was a marked feature in his career devoted to the good of people. Though a Brāhmaṇ, he had no caste-prejudices and he mixed freely with the fallen and lowly without caring for the consequence. He opened the doors of the Vaiṣṇava society to all people irrespective of caste. Though the chief inspiration of this came from Chaitanya himself, the prophet of Nadiyā was too far steeped in his emotional felicities to be able to organise a sect or frame laws for it. Nityānanda did so at his bidding. The merchant community of Bengal,

Sympathy with the fallen. outcasted and fallen after the decadence of Buddhistic ascendancy gave a warm response to Nityānanda's call of brotherhood and were admitted by him to the Vaiṣṇava order. The Chandāls, the Parias and other depressed castes, the Sahajiyās, a sect of Buddhist Bhikṣus and Bhikṣunīs, known by their nick names Nedā and Nedīs, were admitted to the Vaiṣṇava community by Nityānanda's son Virachandra. The story is related how 2500 Buddhist Bhikṣus and Bhikṣunīs assembled at

Khaḍdaha and surrendered themselves to Viśachandra who graciously made them members of the Vaiṣṇava society. A distinguished European friend of mine once went to Khaḍdaha (a few miles to the north of Caleutta) to see the place where these people had assembled, and referred to the spot as marking the death of Buddhism in Bengal; for here did the last vestige of Buddhistic powers surrender itself and was incorporated with Vaiṣṇavism.

The merchants of Sātgāon, the chief mercantile centre in Bengal at the time, with Uddharaṇa Datta of the Suvarṇa Banika caste at their head, gathered round Nityānanda and were so devoted to him that they were prepared to sacrifice everything they had for his sake. Nityānanda is described in a popular Bengali song as “one without anger, always cheerful and without pride, having compassion for all men”.<sup>1</sup> His love-eccstasies often matched those of Chaitanya and he was devoted to the master so greatly that when Chaitanya passed away from this earth he pined away like a lover speaking of nothing else but of the incidents of his life,<sup>2</sup> despising all earthly comforts till he too died two years later in 1535.

<sup>1</sup> “অক্রোধ পরমানন্দ নিত্যানন্দ রায়”।

<sup>2</sup> “চৈতন্য বিছেন্দে সদাই বিলাপ ।

কদাচিতও বাহু হৈলে চৈতন্য আলাপ

কায় মনো বাক্যে সদা চৈতন্য ধ্যায় ।

At one time the rich merchants of Saptagrāma, Nadiyā and other districts, grateful to Nityānanda for their admittance to the Vaiṣṇava community, offered him fine silken apparels embroidered with gold and chains studded with pearls, rubies and diamonds. Though an ascetic Nityānanda wore these ornaments to please them ; upon which a Brāhmaṇ of Nadiyā named Kāma Dāsa, a friend of Chaitanya, went to Puri and said to the latter, "Nityānanda, your colleague, though an ascetic, is given to luxury." The rich mer-

Chaitanya's great faith in Nityānanda.

chants give him valuable articles and fineries and he uses them."

Chaitanya replied, "But I know he is a true ascetic at heart. Don't look at his exterior. Dust, ashes, and the jewels and stones of which you speak are to him of the same value. Even if you told me that he paid court to low courtesans or indulged in wine, I would not lose my trust in him.<sup>1</sup> Indeed he was a true ascetic, full of kindness for men and love for God. The following incident, of which most of the Bengalis, have heard, but the details of which are not perhaps so well known, shows some of the noble traits of his great life.

উচ্চ শব্দ করিয়া সদা গৌরাঙ্গ শুণ গায়  
আপনি গৌরাঙ্গ গাই গাওয়ায় জগতে  
গৌরাঙ্গের শুণ গাও পরে মনস্তে ॥”

*Nityānanda Vaṅga Vistāra by Vṛṇḍāvana Dāsa.*

<sup>1</sup> The Chaitanya Bhāgavata,

Details about the two ruffian chiefs, Jagāi and Mādhāi, are to be found in the supplementary 2½ Chapters of the Premāvilāsa recently discovered in a MS. of that work found by Yaçodālāla Vañika. I give these and the incident leading to their conversion below:—

Subhānanda Rāy, a Kulīn Brāhmaṇ, became a very rich and powerful man in Nadiyā and obtained the title of Rājā from the Emperor of Gauḍa about the year 1450 A.D. He was a great man and his reputation spread far and wide in the country. Owing to his friendship with the Emperor he carried great influence everywhere.

Jagāi and Mādhāi. His two sons, Raghunātha and Janārdana were distinguished for their scholarships and for their great personal beauty. Raghunātha had a son named Jagannātha, and Janārdana's son was called Mādhava. The cousins were popularly known as Jagāi and Mādhāi and had the hereditary titles of Rājā. These two young noble men became robbers at thier early youth, and carried on degradations all around, so that their names grew to be a terror to Nadiyā and the neighbouring districts. They carried away the wealth of villagers not even sparing their wives, set fire to their houses, and though born of a good Brāhmaṇ family freely indulged in wine and beef.<sup>1</sup> They set at defiance all law and order

“ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ ହେଇମା ମନ୍ତ୍ର ଗୋମଂସ ଭକ୍ଷଣ ।

ଡାକା ଚୁରି ପରଗୃହ ଦାହ ଅମୁକ୍ଷଣ ॥”

*Chaitanya Bhāgavata.*

and Gorāi Kazī, the Mahomedan Magistrate of Nadiyā, could not punish them because of their great power. They not only killed cows, but also Sādhus, to the horror of the Hindu community.

Chaitanya had now become the central figure of a spiritual band of workers who sang the praises of God day and night in the streets of Nadiyā. The robber-chiefs were offended by the loud music and uproar of the crowd. And when Haridāsa and Nityānanda one day passed by them exhorting people to pay homage to God and seek His mercy by pure lives, Jagāi and Mādhāi stood before them reeling in a drunken condition. The sweet and compassionate words of Nityānanda had no effect upon the brothers and Mādhāi ordered him to stop singing the name of God. But Nityānanda was neither frightened nor did he feel any anger; a deep compassion moved him while he continued singing the praise of the Lord. The infuriated chief had an empty bottle of wine in his hand with which he struck Nityānanda making a deep wound on his forehead. The apostle cried 'Oh God' 'Oh Lord' and while blood streamed forth from the wound and drenched his clothes, he said to Mādhāi, 'You have struck me for no fault, this I can bear Mādhāi, but I cannot see your wretched condition. You have struck me, no matter, but dear friend, only sing the praises of the Lord once, if I hear His

name uttered by you I will forget the pain of  
 The brutal assault      the wound." Mādhāi was about  
 to strike the apostle again, when  
 Jagāi, whose drunken fit had passed away, held  
 his hands and forbade him to do so saying, "Why  
 have you struck a Sannyāsi, you wicked man ?  
 He is a great Sādhu and has abandoned all  
 earthly pleasures for God. What good can you  
 attain by assaulting a pious man ; do not do so  
 again." At this time Chaitanya came up  
 and as he saw Nityānanda's face drenched in  
 blood but quite cheerful and unmindful of his  
 pain singing God's name ecstatically, the Master  
 ran to him, embraced him and with his own  
 clothes wiped away the blood from his face.  
 He looked at Mādhāi with sorrow and said in a  
 touching tone, "Why have you struck my brother,  
 dear as my life ?" and then stopping a little said  
 in a voice that trembled, "Mādhāi, if it was in  
 your mind to strike one of us, why did you not

"মারিলি কলসীর কানা সহিবারে পারি ।  
 তোদের দুর্গতি আমি সহিবারে নারি ॥  
 মেরেছিস্ মেরেছিস্ তাতে ক্ষতি নাই ।  
 শুমধুর হরিনাম মুখে বল ভাই ॥"  
 কেন হেন করিলে নির্দয় তুমি দৃঢ় ।  
 দেশাস্ত্রী মারিয়া কি হইবে তুমি বড় ॥  
 গত বড় অবধ্যত না মারিছ আর !  
 সন্ন্যাসী মারিয়া কোন লাভ বা তোমার ॥"

strike me?"<sup>1</sup> With tender love did he take Nityānanda with him and the crowd followed them in deep but silent grief.

The two brothers stood there silent, wondering at what they had heard. The popular song ascribed the following speech to Jagāi at this stage<sup>2</sup> :—

"Strike not Nitāi any more, Oh brother Mādhāi! One's pain is healed as one looks at his sweet face, full of compassion. Feign would I, Oh Mādhāi, clasp his feet and hold them close to my breast! This would cool my heart burning with remorse. Behold there, angel-like he looks, with his hair bound into a knot and with marks of God's name all over his body. Being struck he has compassion for the striker. Where, Oh Mādhāi, was such compassion ever seen! Blood flows from his head mingled with

<sup>1</sup> "মাধাই যদি মারবো বলে ছিল তোর মনে।  
তবে মাধাই আমায় তুই না মারিলি কেনে ॥"

*Chaitanya Maṅgala.*

<sup>2</sup> "নিতাইকে আর মেরনা ও মাধাই।  
নিতাইএর ঠাদবদন দেখলে শীতল হয় জীবন,  
আমার ইচ্ছ। হয় যুগল চরণ, হনুম ধরে প্রাণ জুড়াই।  
নিতাইএর মাথায় শিখা, উর্ক রেখা, অঙ্গে হরির নামটি লেখা,  
কি অপরপ ভঙ্গী বাঁকা কৃপের সীমা নাই।  
মার থেঘে দয়া করে, এমন দয়াল দেখি নাই।  
নিতাইর সর্ব অঙ্গে ঝুধির ধারা, তাহে বহে প্রেম ধারা  
ত্রিঙ্গতে এমন দয়াল কভু দেখি নাই।"

*An old song.*

tears of forgiving love ; Oh what a divine sight do I see before me to-day ?”

The two brothers went home but could not sleep for remorse. Mādhāi was moved to tears and longed for the sight of the divine man whom he had so cruelly struck but who, while bleeding, had spoken only sweet words. The brothers walked about the extensive courtyard of their house the whole night through in bitter repentance ; the dews of night fell upon their bare heads and the wind blew softly from the Ganges but could not heal the pain of their hearts. They became changed men in one night.

When the morning dawned in deep agony of heart they ran to the house of Chaitanya and knocking at his gate cried aloud, “ Oh Master, receive your sinners.” And when Chaitanya came out, weeping they fell at his feet without power of speech. Chaitanya said “ You boast of being the Rājās of Navadvīpa. It is a marvel that you cry like women.” He added that he had already pardoned Jagāi ; for himself he could not take offence at any thing. But Mādhāi must seek

“নবদ্বীপের রাজা হও তোমরা দুজন ।  
রাজা হয়ে কি কারণে কান্দহ এখন ॥”

*Chaitanya Maigala.*

“শিশু পুত্র মারিলে কি বাপ দুঃখ পায় ।  
এই মত তোমার প্রহার মোর গায় ॥”

*Chaitanya Bhāgarata.*

the pardon of Nityānanda whom he had so brutally hurt." Upon this they approached the latter and most humbly prayed for forgiveness. Nityānanda said, "If a child beats his parents do they take offence? I have treated the assault in the same way."<sup>1</sup> And when Mādhāi with tears insisted on pardon the apostle said, "Your remorse will be complete and effective if you sin no more." They said nothing but by silent tears showed their sincerity. Nityānanda added, "Not only do I pardon you, but if I have done anything good or noble in this life or in previous lives, may the reward be yours, dear souls, this is my prayer to God. You struck me with a broken bottle, the punishment receive at my hands, I give you the name of God in return."

Jagāi and Mādhāi each took in his hand a leaf of the sacred *Tulasī* plant and at Nityānanda's direction gave it over to him saying, "Oh Master, my burden of sin I give unto you." This simple act completed their admittance to Nityānanda's discipleship. They had only to add that thenceforth they would lead blameless lives.

The two noble men did not return to their place but lived with their spiritual master repenting their sins and singing the praises of God.

<sup>1</sup> "କୋଣ ଜୟେ ଥାକେ ସଦି ଆମାର ଫ୍ରକ୍ତ ।

ମବ ଦିବ ମାଧ୍ୟାଯେରେ ଶୁନଇ ନିଶ୍ଚିତ ॥

*Chaitanya Bhāgavata, Madhya Khaṇḍa, Chapter XIII.*

Mādhāī's mental anguish did not cease, but the more he realised the kindness of Nityānanda, the greater grew his remorse for having made the beastly attack on his person. Nityānanda repeatedly assured him of his pardon. But Mādhāī one day told him in private, " You may pardon me, gracious Master, but to hundreds of my fellow-men I have caused pain. In drunken state I have assaulted men whom I do not know or even remember. What penance is there that may cleanse my sin ? Tell me, Master, my heart longs for punishment of some sort for my lifelong wickedness." Nityānanda said, " If you want to beg pardon of the public whom you have wronged, go to the bathing *ghāt* of the Ganges and seek pardon of all who may go there for bathing."

Mādhāī took a spade in his hand and made with it a bathing *ghāt* himself on the bank of the Ganges, where for the whole day and a considerable portion of the night he would sit reciting the name of God, while silent tears would occasionally be seen rolling down his cheeks. Hundreds of men bathed in the Ganges every day. To every new arrival he would go with joined hands, no matter to what caste the person belonged, and with tearful eyes would say, " Whether knowingly or unknowingly if I have caused you any pain or harm, be gracious enough to pardon me

The Mādhāī-  
Ghat.

for the same." His pride of birth and wealth was thus completely humbled and thus he was born again, so to speak, in his new spiritual life. Jagāi also became known for his great piety and faith.

Thus passed the lives of two famous men of Navadvīpa who, born in wealth and power, but spoiled by wicked company, went back to the righteous course and lead lives worthy of Brahma-chāris. The Ghāṭ of Mādhāi became a sacred place in Navadvīpa. Many years ago the *ghāṭ*, that stood like an emblem of the sins and sufferings of its builder, was washed away by the Ganges as his sins were by true penitent tears ; but it existed even at the time of Narahari Chakravartī, the author of *Bhaktiratnākara* who wrote his work about 1725 A.D.

The conversion of Jagāi and Mādhāi took place in the year 1509 A.D.

At a rather advanced stage of life, Nityānanda broke the vow of asceticism, it is said, at the bidding of Chaitanya and married the two daughters of Suryyadās Sarkhel, a brother of Gaurdāsa Sarkhel of Kālnā. The latter was a companion of Chaitanya in his early years. Vasudhā and Jāhnavī are the names of the two wives of Nityānanda. Jāhnavī after her widowhood became a conspicuous figure in the Vaiṣṇava community for a long time and honoured for her high

Nityānanda's  
marriage.

character. The *Premavilāsa* mentions the fact that Nityānanda having broken the ascetic's vow lost his position in society and no good Brāhmaṇ was willing to give him his daughter in marriage with him. Uddharāṇa Datta, a follower of Nityānanda, proposed his marriage with the daughters of Suryyadāsa Sārkhel, and the latter at first refused the proposal for fear of social ostracism. But his admiration for the apostle, who is said to have shown him some miracles, afterwards triumphed over his weakness and Suryyadāsa's family now stands exalted in the popular estimation owing to this connection.

Nityānanda's son, Vīrachandra (also called Vīrabhadra), became a great figure in the succeeding period of Vaiṣṇava history.

## *II. Āśvāsa.*

Next to Nityānanda and Advaita who deservedly head the list of Chaitanya's companions, there were other commanding figures in the Vaiṣṇava community, each great in his own way. The special claims of Nityānanda and Advaita on popular respect rest on the fact that they organised the Vaiṣṇava community in Bengal. Communal gratitude has therefore paid the highest tribute of honour to them, while others, some of whom equally great, have remained somewhat in the back-ground, their lives being not so much devoted to the enlargement of the Vaiṣṇava circle as to doing good work silently among their fellowmen. Of these the sweet and saintly life of Āśvāsa deserves special mention.

Āśvāsa, a Brāhmaṇ scholar, came with Advaita from Sylhet to study at Nadiyā and settled there. He had three brothers Āśikanta (*alias* Āśinidhi), Āśī Rāma and Āśipati. Āśvāsa is sometimes called Āśinivāsa. The family enjoyed moderate affluence. The author of the Chaitanya Bhāgavata mentions that they had a large following of servants and attendants. In those days when luxury was unknown, a Mahomedan tailor lived in one of their out-houses, whose sole occupation was to sew clothes for the members

Āśvāsa's status  
in society.

of the family. Chaitanya is said to have prophesied once that "though Lakṣmī, the Goddess of wealth, might be reduced to begging her bread, yet Črīvāsa's family would never be poor." Long after Črīvāsa had been dead when Jayānanda wrote his Caitanya Maṅgala about 1540 A.D. the descendants of Črīvāsa were still rich at Kumārhaṭṭa.

**Črīvāsa** was junior to Advaita, but could not be less than 40 years when Chaitanya was born. We find from **Črīvāsa and the child Chaitanya** the accounts in the several biographies of Chaitanya that Črīvāsa and his wife, Mālinī, were present at Jagannātha Miṭra's house when Chaitanya was born and that they made many beautiful presents to the baby on the occasion. Mālinī was a friend of Čachī Devī, Chaitanya's mother, who had already given birth to nine children at the time. From this fact we may take Črīvāsa to be at least 40 years old when Chaitanya was born and thus we take 1446 A.D. to be the year of Črīvāsa's birth. Chaitanya as a boy was a frequent visitor to Črīvāsa's house and carried out the orders of Črīvāsa as a child does of his elders and even in his youth he was often accosted by Črīvāsa in such language as "Whether bound, thou haughty boy?" (¹)

(¹) "কোথায় চলেছ উক্ততের শিরোমণি।"

Crivāsa grew into a spoilt child mixing in his early youth with bad companions. But all of a sudden there came a change over his wicked life. When he was barely 17, he dreamt one night that a Sannyāsī knocked at his door. Crivāsa forthwith came to meet him. The holy man said, "Crivāsa, you have only one year more to live, take this warning." The dream vanished and the day dawned when to his great surprise Crivāsa found at his gate the Sannyāsī of his dream waiting for him; he too disappeared having delivered the selfsame message. From that time Crivāsa's mirth and light-brained follies were gone. He had the sure belief that the span of his life extended for a year only. He did not speak out his thoughts but became emaciated, lean and pale, eating spare meal and often fasting for fear. When sorely troubled in this way, he one day came across the following line in the Vṛihat Nāradīya Purāṇa : "Sing the praises of the Lord, nothing else will save a man from the sorrows of the world in this *kali yuga* (iron age)".<sup>1</sup> As the drowning man catches at a straw, even so Crivāsa caught the words which henceforth became the guiding principle of his life. But the words were no straw, they proved to be

The turning point in his life.

"হর্ণাম হর্ণাম হর্ণামেব কেবলম্ ।  
কনো নাঈতেব নাঈতেব নাঈতেব গতিরস্থা॥

a source of strength and support. We quote his own statement, "I took the *gloka* as the word of God Himself and though I was derided for it, I left all work and resigned myself absolutely to His will. When people laughed at me I was not angry but awaited patiently the summons from Him, losing all attachment for home and the world." He visited the house of Devānanda where the Bhāgavata was read every evening, and there became the most attentive listener. We find that one day he was turned out of the room as he sobbed loudly and showed other signs of emotion, which the audience considered unbecoming in an assembly of learned men while listening to sermons.<sup>1</sup>

The one year passed, and on the last day Ārīvāsa went to the house of Devānanda Āchārya as usual. The text for that day was the Chapter of Bhāgavata, which told of the devotion of Prahlāda, the son of Hiranyakaçipu, and while hearing the interpretations, all of a sudden his head reeled, and in a moment he fell senseless on the ground. They took him for dead and carried him out of the house, when the same Sannyāsī whom he had seen a year before, appeared there and touching Ārīvāsa's body said, "Arise son, you have many things to

do yet." When Črīvāsa awoke as from a sound sleep, the figure of the Sannyāsī, to his utter amazement, had vanished from the spot.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Črīvāsa was re-born in the life of faith and became a constant companion of Advaita. They both sang the praises of God aloud in their houses and in the streets. Črīvāsa had a musical voice and as he sang hymns and praises of God, many hearers stood by listening to the songs with rapt attention, though there were many who derided him for the excess of emotion he displayed.

When Chaitanya had founded a *tol* in Nadiyā at the house of Mukunda Sanjaya in the year 1508, Črīvāsa often met him and advised him to devote himself to spiritual culture rather than to secular learning, but the young scholar not being then of a religious bent of mind, kept out of his way.

It is well known that Chaitanya's visit to Gayā brought a complete change into his life. It was there he first saw that vision of God, which continued till the last moment of his earthly career. On his return from Gayā, his trances were taken for fits of hysteria. He could not speak of anything other than of his God; the

<sup>1</sup> A full detail of this incident is to be found in many Vaiṣṇava works and particularly in the Chaitanya Chandrodaya Nāṭaka by Kavi Karṇapūra.

name of God carelessly uttered even by bystanders would call forth a flood of tears from his eyes. He would often sing the name of God for hours together till he could sing or speak no more, remaining absorbed in his vision, unconscious of the world, for days and nights, taking no thought of food or sleeping.

Facing the spacious historic courtyard of Črīvāsa's house, stood thick rows of *kunda* plants, the pearl-like white flowers of which presented to the sight what an Eschylus would describe to be the eternal smile of the landscape. The flowers bloomed there during all seasons, and Vṛndāvana Dāsa says in his Chaitanya Bhāgavata that the constant plucking of them by the worshippers and boys, morning and evening, did not cause any perceptible diminution in their number.

The *kunda*-flowers in Črīvāsa's court-yard and talk about Chaitanya's love for God.

There the small band of Vaiṣṇava worshippers met every morning and talked over diverse matters as they gathered flowers in small cane-baskets. Here Čuklāmvara, one of these Vaiṣṇavas, spoke one morning of the wonderful love for God that dawned on Chaitanya. Since his return from Gaya "he is thoroughly changed; he no longer cares to comb his beautiful curling hair, his mother follows him with wistful eyes but he talks not with her and cries 'Oh God' and sees vision of Him in the clouds; he runs with his hands outstretched and eyes

full of tears to catch the Unseen ; despising his soft couch and white bed he sleeps on the bare earth ; he no longer wears his gold chains, earrings and lockets nor the fine *kṛṣṇakeli* cloth of silk with black borders ; he neither takes his bath nor does he eat his usual meals ; he no longer worships gods and goddesses, nor does he recite the sacred hymns as prescribed by the Āśtras ; but weeps and cries ‘Oh my God, do not hide your face from me’.

Çuklāmvara added, “Chaitanya has promised to tell me of the wonderful vision he saw at Gayā, in the evening to-day. Since he saw it, he says, he cannot control his feelings. His mother is in great distress.”

They all said, “He was proud of his learning and ridiculed sacred things. Is it possible that God has given him the faith which he lacked, or is it madness ?” They had not to wait long, for Çachī Devī sent for Crīvāsa just at that time, with the tidings that her son had become insane. She had tried *Cirādi* *Ghrīta* and other medicines prescribed by the physicians but these had produced no effect. The malady was in fact the same as that attributed to the European mystics who displayed similar symptoms.

Crīvāsa called on Chaitanya forthwith and after long and earnest talk came back himself a changed man. He saw in Chaitanya only the

Crīvāsa's dia-  
gnosis.

bloom and perfection of that vision of which he had but got glimpses himself after his ‘re-birth’. The tears that flowed from Chaitanya’s eyes while speaking with him, appeared to him holier than the stream of the Ganges, and as he listened to him, flashes of a new light dispelled his spiritual doubts, and it seemed to Črīvāsa that he too saw the One whose glorious vision had so absolutely possessed the young scholar. Črīvāsa could not help bowing down before Chaitanya, though he was much his junior, and when at parting, Chaitanya with joined hands prayed Črīvāsa to find a cure for his insanity, distressed as he was for his mother, Črīvāsa said, “Your insanity is what we all covet. The addiction to worldly pleasures which last for a moment only plunging men shortly after into a sea of misfortune, is real insanity.” What Črīvāsa felt, all people of Nadiyā felt shortly after except the Bhāttāchāryyas, ever vain of their great learning.

The courtyard in Črīvāsa’s house became the favourite resort of Chaitanya every evening. It was here that the daily growing number of his followers met and sang *kīrtana* songs from sun-set to sun-rise, while he inspired them with

The courtyard  
of Črīvāsa.

his trances standing in the centre of them. It was here that when

Črīvāsa’s only son died one night, he whispered to the women of the house not

to mourn aloud lest the heavenly joy imparted by Chaitanya's ecstasies of love might be disturbed, for in them the Vaiṣṇavas saw the real vision of God-in-man. His son had died at 7-30 in the night and the *kīrtana* continued till 2 A.M. Never before had Črīvāsa's songs been so fervent and impressive. Chaitanya at last heard of the bereavement that had befallen his friend, and stopped *kīrtana*. Upon Črīvāsa's asking permission of him to leave home for the cremation of the child, Chaitanya said, "How can I leave the company of one who forgot the loss of his only son for my love!"<sup>1</sup> Here in this courtyard of Črīvāsa, Chaitanya often discussed religious matters with Čridhara, the poor Brahmin, rich in faith and character, whose humble calling was to sell plantain-leaves in the streets. In his childhood, Chaitanya used often good humouredly to advise Čridhara to earn money by performing priestly functions in the houses of those who worshipped Chandī and other local deities with great pomp. "Why should you," he had once asked, "be content with your rags and wretched hut?" Čridhara's meek answers on such occasions would be "Well hast thou said, oh Brahmin lad, yet time passes and at the end makes no difference. The king

<sup>1</sup> "পুত্রশোক না জানিল যে মোহর প্রেমে।

হেন তব সকল মৃষ্টি ছাড়িব কেমনে ॥"

in his golden hall partakes of rich meals, and behold the birds live on the boughs of trees. When death comes it levels all. Each has his lot apportioned by God.”<sup>1</sup> Čādhara, the faithful, was now a constant companion of Chaitanya. Here in this courtyard Črīvāsa used to read passages from the *Gitagovinda* and the *Bhāgavata* making clear the hidden meaning of Kṛṣṇa’s love and sports in the Vṛndā groves. The earth earthy—the flesh and its desires—vanished before his glowing speech, the texts being interpreted as symbolic forms of the highest spiritual truths. Chaitanya became frenzied with joy as he heard these, and said to Črīvāsa “say again what you said and tell me more, beloved friend, sweeter than nectar is your speech.” On one occasion when Chaitanya lay unconscious in this courtyard, his face beaming with joy at the beatific vision, Advaita touched the dust of his feet with reverence, which he would never allow while in sense. Discovering this afterwards Chaitanya admonished this old scholar saying “Yours is a sea of devotion and faith, mine is a mere well. Why do you covet it from so small a place?”

<sup>1</sup> “ଶ୍ରୀଧର ବାଲେନ ବିପ୍ଳ ବଲିଲା ଉତ୍ତମ ।

ତ୍ଥାପି ସତ୍ତାର କାଳ ଯାଏ ଏକ ସମ ॥

ରହୁଥରେ ଥାକେ ରାଜା ଦିବ୍ୟ ଯାଏ ପରେ ॥

ପଞ୍ଚିଗଣ ଥାକେ ଦେଖ ବୁଝେର ଉପରେ ॥

କାଳ ପୂନ ସତ୍ତାର ସମାନ ହେ ଯାଏ ।

ସତେ ନିଜ କଷ୍ଟ ଭୁଷ୍ଣେ ଦେଖିବ ଇଚ୍ଛାଯ ॥”

It was in Çrīvāsa's courtyard that Chaitanya acted as a sweeper and cleansed the temple of Kṛṣṇa with a broom, calling himself 'Kṛṣṇer haddipa'—Kṛṣṇa's sweeper all the while and weeping for joy at his own humility. Here Narāyani,—the niece of Çrīvāsa, who became latterly celebrated as the mother of the historian Vṛndāvāna Dāsa, is said to have shown spiritual tendencies even when she was a girl of 4, inspired by Chaitanya. Here the Mahomedan tailor of Çrīvāsa's house attracted by the emotional fervour of Chaitanya, openly renounced his faith and turned a Vaiṣṇava. From this courtyard Advaita reverentially took up some dust and exclaimed "How can I claim the fortune of Çrīvāsa whose courtyard is the favourite haunt of Chaitanya?" Here Chaitanya once ate some grains of coarse rice from the begging bowl of Çuklāmvara, the ascetic, and said "No poor food is this, received from the hands of one of the most pious of men, it gives purity of heart to its pertaker."

The courtyard of Çrīvāsa's house has a hundred associations of Chaitanya. It is now in the bed of the Ganges, but the sanctity of this shrine is now attributed to a spot now called by the same name and considered a holy place by a thousand of pilgrims who visit it annually.

"ଆସନ୍ତେ କମେ ତାଦୁଶଂ ସୌଭାଗ୍ୟ ଯତ୍ତ ଉବନେ ପ୍ରତିଦିନମେ ସେବିତଃ ଦେବେନ ।"

*The Chaitanya Chandrodaya Nāṭaka.*

In the Çri Kṛṣṇa play organised by Chaitanya, played at the house of Buddhimanta Khān of Nadiyā who bore the cost, Çrīvāsa took the part of the musician-sage Nārada which he played very well. Chaitanya himself figured as “Rukmini”, one of the queens of Kṛṣṇa, and so perfect was his play that even Çachī, his mother, could not recognise him in his female

The play organised by Chaitanya. guise. In Chaitanya Chandradaya by Kavi Karṇapūra, a contemporary poet, Çrīvāsa as Nārada is thus described. “He presents himself on the stage with his long grey beard and sandal marks all over his body. From his left shoulder hangs his lyre and in his right hand he holds the sacred *kuča* grass. As he makes his appearance he hears the music of Çri Kṛṣṇa’s flute floating from afar and thus muses. “Is it the merry chuckle of the geese as they sportively swim in the lake of sweet love or the humming of bees as they suck honey from the blooming flowers in a lovely garden?”

On the eve of the play Chaitanya had said “Those who have entirely subdued the passions of the flesh should only be entitled to witness this play of ours”. He had feared lest the loves of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa be interpreted by materialistic people as sensual love.” To this Çrīvāsa and Advaita both replied “Take out our names from the list first; for if this be the

law to-day, we are not fit," and Chaitanya smiled at this.

Haridāsa and Nityānanda lived for two years in Ārīvāsa's house (1508-1510 A.D.) One was a Mahomedan and the other an ascetic and no respecter of caste. The propriety of Ārīvāsa's conduct in receiving these guests at his house was called in question by the orthodox Hindu community, but he paid no heed to their disapproval. The Chaitanya Bhāgavata says that "Ārīvāsa and the members of his family were devoted to Chaitanya and to him alone. They did not believe in any other god or goddess."<sup>1</sup> Nityānanda and Haridāsa remained in Ārīvāsa's house, and every morning they made their round in the city singing praises of God and calling on the house-holders to give them alms. When, however, they came to give them alms, the apostles said "Sing the praises of the Lord and lead holy lives. This is the alms we beg of you,—none other."

Often did Chaitanya come out with his *Sankirtana* party and march through the streets of Nadiyā. The Bhāttāchāryas were greatly offended; they did not accept the emotional creed of *bhakti*. They were proud of their learning and power, and made representations

"সপরিবারে করে যাও। চৈতন্যের মেবা।  
শ্রীচৈতন্য বিনে নাচি মানে দেবী-দেবো ॥"

to the Kāzī praying him to stop the loud uproar of the Vaiṣṇavas in the public streets. The Vaiṣṇavas sang the name of God "with the psaltery and the high sounding cymbals" in the streets, but the courtyard of Črīvāsa's house was, of course, the central meeting place of the band. At one time a rumour passed current that a ship carrying soldiers of the Emperor was about to land in the city of Nadiyā to arrest the

The hostile people.

unbelievers got alarmed at this rumour. The Chaitanya Bhāgavata records the following conversation among some of them. One said "I had already suggested that the house of Črīvāsa, the resort of the Vaiṣṇavas, should be at once destroyed and thrown into the Ganges. You did not take recourse to force which is the only remedy in such cases. Now you will see how many innocent men will suffer for the wickedness of these Vaiṣṇavas." Another said "why should we be alarmed? If the King's soldiers come, we will have Črīvāsa arrested, and the matter will end there."

His enemies had recourse to various means to annoy Črīvāsa. We find it mentioned in the biographies of Chaitanya that a Brāhmāṇ of Nadiyā, named Gopāl Chāpal, kept at the gate of Črīvāsa objects of *tāntric* rites which caused a horror to the Vaiṣṇavas. These consisted of meat and wine with which Chāndī was worshipped.

But all this opposition ended when Chaitanya took the Sannyāsi's vows. This implied his desertion of Nadiyā for ever. A sannyāsī may never revisit his native place nor live with his family ever after in life. Chaitanya wore rags and shaved his head and became a Sannyāsī when only 24 years old. Even his enemies were sorry to see him cut off all earthly ties while still so young. The people had all along felt a

Chaitanya's Sann-  
yās and the general  
mourning.

sense of love for this divine man, though some did not approve of the forwardness and over-winning

manners of a few of his followers. It was a day of general lamentation in Nadiyā. From the day when Chaitanya left the place for ever, the courtyard of Crīvāsa became as it were a desert in the eyes of his numerous friends and associates. The last part of Crīvāsa's life was spent in recollecting the incidents of Chaitanya's early life. And Murāri Gupta, a great scholar of Nadiyā, was the first to write notes Crīvāsa's grief in Sanskrit verse on Chaitanya's life, at the order of Crīvāsa, who spoke of nothing but of Chaitanya after his desertion of Nadiyā and dreamt of him in his sleep by night. Often while gathering flowers for worship he recollected Chaitanya and fainted away in grief, the basket of flowers falling from his unconscious hands. Sometimes going to the banks of the Ganges, he missed his great

companion and sat for hours together meditating on him who was dearer to him than everything else in the world and he forgot that he had come there to bathe. In his own courtyard, the *sankirtana* party sang the praises of the Lord again with the high-sounding cymbals, the timbrel and dance, and he stood there listening to the singers but often his voice was choked with tears and he fell down on the bare earth in great grief crying like a child. Sometimes he felt that the God of his songs and Chaitanya were the same, so that while offering flowers to Kṛṣṇa instead of saying ‘I bow to thee, oh Kṛṣṇa,’ he said unconsciously ‘I bow to thee, oh Chaitanya.’ And as he remembered himself, tears rolled down his cheeks.

The residents of Nadiyā all except Chaitanya’s wife and mother, had permission to go and see him once a year at Puri. This was on the occasion of the great Car festivities. Needless to say that Črīvāsa was one of the foremost to avail himself of this opportunity. How happy was once more the venerable old man of Nadiyā to meet his young “master” and sing the name of God in the *kirtana* party at Puri! We find him once in a delirium of joy pushing through Črīvāsa at Puri. the crowd to be near Chaitanya. In his attempt he pressed against Pratāpa Rudra, the king. Upon which Harichandana,

his minister, pushed him away with his hands; but the old man's ecstasies knew no bounds, and he again unconsciously pressed upon the king on which the minister again pushed him away with his hands. Çrīvāsa got angry and slapped the minister on his cheek. Harichandana was very angry, but Pratāpa Rudra said "Do not be offended with him; his devotion for the Master is such that we are not worthy of touching the dust of his feet."

While parting from Chaitanya on the expiration of the few days he was permitted to stay at Puri in the year, he wept every time like a child leaving his mother, and on one of these occasions Chaitanya is said to have spoken to him thus: "Do not weep, veteran scholar. Though I am at Puri, I shall be always in spirit in your courtyard. That place and the kitchen of my dear mother where I took meals cooked by her hands, I can never for a moment forget. You will feel my presence when the *Sankīrtana* party assemble in your courtyard and sing Kṛṣṇa's name."

Çrīvāsa's family had two residential houses, one at Nadiyā and the other at Kumārhatta. In the latter place there is a mound of earth marking the spot which was once his home.

## *VI. Haridāsa.*

One of the most ardent and sincere of Chaitanya's companions—one who showed his great devotion for him and adhered to his spiritual convictions in the teeth of great persecution—was Haridāsa, popularly known as *yavana* Haridāsa,—the Mahomedan. We have not come across his Mahomedan name. He was given the Hindu name 'Haridāsa' after his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism. His father's name was Malai Kāzī. He was the owner of a considerable property in the district of Ambua, and as the name Kāzī implies, was a Mahomedan Magistrate. Haridāsa was born in Budān near Banagrām in the district of Jessore about the year 1464 A.D. He came to Sāntipur as a young man and

Early life and conversion to Vaiṣṇavism. was converted to the Vaiṣṇava faith by Advaita. We find him

living at the house of Ārivāsa in Nadiyā between 1508-1510. Here Nityānanda and he became fast friends and both preached the Chaitanya-cult in the city and its suburbs. As already mentioned, they visited the houses of the villagers as beggars and in the place of alms which the good people were ready to give them, they asked for a promise on their part to sing the praises of God and lead pure lives.

Gorāi Kāzi who was the Mahomedan Kāzi of Kuliā, a ward of Nadiyā, was greatly enraged to find a Mahomedan become a Hindu convert; and he reported the matter to the Emperor of Gauḍa. Orders were received to try him in a court presided over by 12 Kāzis, and they passed the unanimous judg-

Persecution.ment that if he still persisted in reciting the name of Hari through the streets, he should be publicly whipped in 22 different markets of the country. This was done. The persecution was so unceasing and the punishment so severe that he was at one time taken for dead. But Haridāsa triumphed over all this and kept to his course out of the great love he bore to Chaitanya.

In his youth Haridāsa had for a time led a life of penance passing through a process of spiritual training in the jungly tracts of Benapole near Jessore. It is well known that Rāmehan-dra Khān, a powerful local zemindar and a bully, sent a beautiful Moghul harlot to Haridāsa promising her a reward if she could succeed in winning him to the pleasures of a worldly life. Haridāsa lived in a small hut at Benapole where the harlot visited him one evening and said that she was smitten with love for him. Haridāsa said he would attend to her after saying his prayers. Saying so he shut his eyes in order to take the

Victory over temptation.

1

fixed number of God's name which were three laes by day and night. So quiet and lonely was the place and so profound was the meditative mood of Haridāsa, that his lovely seducer waited till morning without a word and when at the dawn of the day people gathered at the place to see the holy man she went away saying she would visit him the next evening. That night also she had a similar experience, the all absorbing meditation of Haridāsa could not be disturbed, and on the third night she could not resist the influence of the saintly life before her. To the great disappointment of Rāmchandra Khān

The harlot turned a devotee. it was discovered that the beautiful Moghul courtizan had taken

to the life of a Vaiṣṇava recluse by shaving her head and accepting Haridāsa as her spiritual guide. We know from the accounts given

A retribution. in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta

how a retribution came to Rāmchandra Khān from the most High for oppressing Haridāsa and doing other wicked things. He had insulted before this Nityānanda who had been a guest at his house one night. He had grown proud of his army and refused to pay annual revenue to the Mahomedan court. A powerful army of the Emperor laid siege to his fortified town and making a forcible entry into it, occupied it, defiling his temples with the blood of cows slain there.

Kavi Karṇapūra relates that in the dramatic performance organised by Chaitanya at

Haridāsa as a player in the dramatic performance given by Chaitanya

Nadiyā, Haridāsa played the part of the Sūtradhara. He had a turban on his head, ear-rings on his ears, a string of pearls on his neck and bracelets on his arms. From his shoulders hang a flowing wreath of field-flowers. The dramatic character representing the abstract virtue of Brotherhood asked the Deity of love and faith on the stage, how it was that a Mahomedan was allowed to take part in the religious functions of the Hindus. The latter said "The way of love and faith is different from the one prescribed in the Čāstras." Brotherhood said

What takes place during the flood.

"If one takes an irregular course, it will take a long time to arrive at the spiritual goal, if it is to be attained at all by such means." The Deity of love and faith replied "Not so always, though it may be true generally speaking. There are occasions when by embracing an undefined and irregular course the destination is reached the sooner. Behold, when the country is deluged with flood and there is no fixed course for the boat to take, it goes faster to its destination by following an undefined course than it would do by taking the zigzag course of a well-defined river in the dry season.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Chaitanya Chandrodaya Nāṭakam by Kavi Karṇapūra, (Berhampur Edition), Act III, Scene iii, pp. 169-170.

This refers to the violation of Čāstrie ordinances which marked the course of the Vaiṣṇavas in the pursuit of their spiritual goal. The Mahomedans were offered the same respect and, what is more, the same social prestige as the Hindus, in their own community. The flood is here the one of faith and devotion brought on by Chaitanya.

When Haridāsa was at Sāntipur living with Advaita, the latter was for some time excommunicated by the orthodox community for his intimate associations with a Mahomedan.

Haridasa reconciled with the Hindu Community.

A public diet took place there in which Haridāsa made a speech quoting chapter and verse from various Sanskrit works and successfully meeting all the arguments advanced by his chief opponent Yadunandana Āchārya who held an undisputedly high position as a scholar not only at Sāntipur but in the neighbouring districts. The diet resulted in the latter's accepting the creed of Vaiṣṇavism as propounded by Haridāsa. His triumph over such a powerful adversary, no less than his great meekness of character and exalted life, overcome the prejudices of the people of Sāntipur and thenceforward they ceased their hostile attitude towards Haridāsa and to his friend Advaita.

From Sāntipur Haridāsa came to the village of Fuliyā the birth place of the distinguished Bengali poet Kīttivāsa. Here the inspiring

presence of Haridāsa made a deep and profound impression on a Brāhmāṇ scholar named Rāmdāsa who acknowledged the Mahomedan devotee as his Guru—spiritual master.

Haridāsa followed Chaitanya at Puri. And out of respect for orthodox notions he lived outside the Puri temples. But Chaitanya paid him a visit there almost every day. We have already noticed that in this resort of Haridasa outside the Temple jurisdiction, Sanātana lived for a while before going to Vṛndāvana.

Sanātana's admiration for Haridāsa's character was great. Once he praised him in the following words : “There are those who preach religious truths but do not live holy lives themselves. Others there are who lead pure lives as religious recluses, cut off from men. But you have not only preached the truths yourself but have practised them in your own life. Who is there, so noble and good as you are?”<sup>1</sup> Chaitanya also admired him thus : “Your

The respect in which he was held. holy thoughts are as the streams of the Ganges in which your soul bathes every hour. Your pious acts earn for you that virtue which the people seek in sacrificial rites prescribed in the Āśtras. You are constantly in touch with the loftiest of ideals

(1) “আপনে আচারে কেহ না করে প্রচার।

প্রচার করয়ে কেহ না করে আচার॥

আচার প্রচার নামের কর দুই কাহি॥

The Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Antyakhanda Chap. IV.

which give you the same merit as the study of the Vedās. What Sādhu or Brāhmaṇ is there who is good and great as you are?"

When he felt the approach of death he told Chaitanya that he was disabled by age from reciting the number of names of God daily that he had done for long years. Chaitanya said "You should not do anything to weaken the body. You are a true saint and may dispense with the forms." That very night when he felt the approach of death with joined hands he said to Chaitanya "Pray remain near me at my last moment, so that I may see that beautiful face of yours which has been the fountain of all my spiritual bliss. Oh my friends present here, recite the name of my Master. So that I may hear the sweet name of Chaitanya uttered by you. This is the last great act of kindness I expect to receive at your hands."<sup>3</sup> Turning to

(3) "ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣାଯିରବ ତୋମାର କମଳ ଚରଣ  
ନାମନେ ଦେଖିବ ତୋମାର ଟାଙ୍କ ବଦମ  
ଜିହ୍ଵାଯ ଉଚ୍ଚାରିବ ତୋମାର କୃଷ୍ଣ-ଚିତ୍ତର ନାମ  
ଏଇମନ୍ତ ମୋର ଈଛା ଛାଡ଼ିବ ପରାମ ।

The last scene is thus described—

ତୁମିରିମୁଁ ନିଜ ପାର୍ଶ୍ଵେ ଅଭ୍ୟ ବମ୍ବାଇଲ ।  
ନିଜ ନେତ୍ର ହାତ ଭୃତ୍ର ମୁଖ ପଦ୍ମା ଦିଲ ॥  
ମହାଦୟେ ଆସି ଧରି ପ୍ରଭୁର ଚରଣ ।  
ସର୍ବି ଭତ୍ତ ପଦ ରେଣୁ ମନ୍ତ୍ରକେ ଭୂଷଣ ॥  
ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣ ଚିତ୍ତର ଅଭ୍ୟ ବଲେ ବାର ବାର ।  
ପ୍ରଭୁ ମୁଖ ମାସ୍ତିତେ ପିଯେ ନେତ୍ର ଜଳଧାର ॥  
ଶ୍ରୀକୃଷ୍ଣ ଚିତ୍ତର ଶଦ କରିତେ ଉଚ୍ଚାରଣ ।  
ନାମେର ମହିତ ପାଗ କରେ ଉତ୍ସାମଣ ।

Chaitanya he said again "A low born, vile fellow I was, through your grace I have been saved, and have known the sweets of a higher life. You have His last moments. given me an exalted rank in the society of Hindus so that though a Mahomedan I have received presents at the Grāddha ceremony from high-caste Hindus, as though I were a Brāhmaṇ. But all this temporal glory is nothing as compared with the spiritual bliss which you have brought to my soul." When his last moment came, Chaitanya called all his companions near the bed of the venerable saint and at his bidding the best of the Brāhmaṇs bowed at the feet of the departing sage while all sang the praises of God. As the last flicker of life passed away, his remains were carried to the sea coast, where Chaitanya with his own hands dug up the sand and made a burial place for him.

It has been attempted by later Vaiṣṇava historians to prove that Haridāsa though brought up by a Mahomedan, was a Brāhmaṇ by birth and as a child was taken care of by Mālāī Kāzī. Mālāī Kāzī was not his father but his god-father. In the earlier writings, however, no reference as to his Brāhmaṇic origin is found ; he is simply called 'Mahomedan' Haridāsa. We have often found that as the Vaiṣṇava circle gradually expanded itself, it took by degrees a sectarian

Attempts to prove him of Hindu extraction. character, relaxing its high principles of brotherhood given to it

by Chaitanya and Nityānanda. The caste-prejudices of the orthodox community gradually entered into it and the descendants of Gosains—the Gurus of Vaiṣṇavas—who were mostly Brāhmaṇs—felt it as a stigma on their pedigree that their ancestors had eaten from the same plate with one who by birth was a Mahomedan, and had bowed at his feet, nay more, had in a few cases, acknowledged him as their religious teacher. They have thus probably invented stories to mitigate the force of this evil as far as possible by attributing Brāhmaṇic ancestry to Haridāsa. Chaitanya was no believer in caste, nor in any difference between man and man. His motto was the text of the Vṛihat Nāradiya Purāṇa “Even a Chandāl is to be honoured more than a Brāhmaṇ if the former has attained the knowledge of God.” As an ascetic he could not have any caste-prejudices himself, but he admired freedom from them in those of his followers who were not ascetics but belonged to the orthodox community. We find it mentioned in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta that one Kālidāsa, a Kāyastha, had made it his mission to eat the refuse food from the plate of such low-caste

Kālidāsa the great champion of caste-reform.

people as Doms and Hādīs with the full approval of Chaitanya.

Kālidāsa defended his procedure by saying that when the taking of meal touched by others formed such an important factor of

the grounds for condemning a man in society, it was necessary to take the extreme step, that he did, in order to convince the people of the folly of such a view.

### *VII.—Lokanātha Gosvami.*

The history of the Vaiṣṇavas in Bengal, so full of sacrifices and hardships undergone for the sake of religion, hardly presents a more striking example of patient faith and silent self-dedication to Chaitanya than that of the famous hermit Lokanātha Gosvāmī. The Vaiṣṇava biographers, so lavish in their praise of other leaders of their faith and in minute details of their lives, are strangely silent about Lokanātha whose pure life, spiritual fervour and uncompromising adherence to his lofty ideals are almost unique in Vaiṣṇava history. The writers make little more than an incidental reference to his life given in the biographical notices of other Vaiṣṇava worthies.

Lokanātha was the son of a Kulin Brāhmaṇ named Padmanābha Chakravartī of Talgoria, a village in the district of Jessore. His mother's name was Sītā and he was born about the year 1490 A.D. Lokanāth was a fellow-student of

Pedigree and early life. Chaitanya, reading with him at the *tol* Paṇḍit Gaṅgā Das at

Nadiyā. When Chaitanya's life suddenly took the religious turn, for which it was predestined, no one admired it more than

Lokanātha, who for some time was his constant companion. Chaitanya wanted him to go to Vṛndāvana to reclaim the deserted shrine, a mission for the accomplishment of which Sanātana, Rūpa and others were employed by Chaitanya in latter years. Separated from Chaitanya, Lokanātha felt miserable, but he could not refuse it; a request from Chaitanya was as binding as the holiest writ of scripture to his companions, and Lokanātha silently carried out his bidding.

The Premavilāsa thus describes  
The order inviolable.  
what he said to Chaitanya on this occasion in one of his messages to him: "No more shall I, oh my Lord, be permitted to see your feet. Think not that I seek my own pleasures. To carry out your wishes must always be the sole end of my life. For this object have I reconciled myself with the solitary life I lead here. You are there in the midst of those who are more fortunate than I. I am deprived of that company than which nothing is dearer to me."<sup>1</sup>

A journey to Vṛndāvana from Nadiyā was not an easy matter in those days. Lokanātha was accompanied by another Brāhmaṇ scholar named Bhugarbha. At the time they went, the main

<sup>1</sup> আর না দেখিব গোরা তোমার চরণ ।

রহিলাম আজ্ঞামাত্র করিয়া ধারণ ॥

ভক্তগণ সঙ্গে প্রভু যে করিলা লীলা ।

বঞ্চিত করিয়া ঘোরে হেথা পাঠাইলা ॥

road was blocked by the contending armies of Hindus and Mahomedans near Rājmahal. It was the month of October, 1510 A.D. when they started for the holy city. When, however, the pilgrims asked the people of Rājmahal about the route, they were told that it would be impossible for them to get to Vṛndāvana in the disturbed state of the country, by the

Journey to Vrinda-  
vana,

main road. Other roads were also infested by robbers.

But they were not daunted. They went on inspired by faith alone. They took the route by Tājpur and reached Purṇiyā from where they came to Lucknow. It took them three days to reach Agra from this place. In 23 days Loknātha and Bhugarbha reached Vṛndāvana from Nadiyā. They were dressed in rags and carried beggar's bowls in their hands. The holy city was deserted. It was overgrown by the jungle, with huts of poor people dotted here and there, and was nothing more than a name even to the Vaiṣṇavas who held it sacred. But the hermits in co-operation with Sanātana and Rūpa, who subsequently joined them, identified the places associated with Kṛiṣṇa's early life, and the wonderful tale of their devotion and holy lives spread far and wide. In half a century the city rose again with its gay array of lofty tiara-shaped temples, some of which claim the glory of being considered among the foremost architectural monuments of India.

The transformation was as sudden as though it were accomplished by the touch of a magician's wand. But of this we propose to speak at some length elsewhere. From 1511 to 1512 Chaitanya was in the Deccan, and Loknātha like others heard of his presence there. He accordingly left Vṛndāvana for a time to meet the Master in the south; but unfortunately he could not overtake him, missing him narrowly at the several stations where Chaitanya had halted for some days. Lokanātha heard again, while still journeying in

He misses Chaitanya. the Deccan in quest of the Master, that he had gone up to Vṛndāvana.

He hurried back to that town as soon as he heard this, but on his arrival there was again disappointed to learn that Chaitanya had left the holy city. Lokanātha had no orders from the Master to return to Puri or Bengal; so though greatly mortified at the separation from him, he spent the remaining days of his life at Vṛndāvana following the paths of spiritual advancement and humane service. The Vrajabāsīs, as the residents of Vṛndāvana and its vicinity were called, paid him unique homage acting as he bade them to do without a question—so high was the place he

His piety. occupied in their estimation. The

Anurāgavallī describes him thus: "Always scrutinising himself by meditation, not given to many words, but when he opens

his mouth, his short speeches are full of sweetness and wisdom, wielding a great influence.”<sup>1</sup>

We shall have to return again to the life of this great Vaiṣṇava, when referring to the subject of the reclaiming of the shrine of Vṛndāvana. Loknātha was absolutely averse to a glorification of himself by the writers of the Vaiṣṇava history. It is well-known that Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who wrote the most valuable account of Chaitanya’s life, drew his inspiration and materials in no inconsiderable degree from Lokanātha Gosvāmī. But while describing the noteworthy incidents of the lives of other devotees, he does not mention the help he obtained from Lokanātha anywhere in his elaborate work, nor does he refer to any anecdote of his illustrious life. This is because Lokanātha had prevented the Kavirāja from writing anything to glorify him. This incident is mentioned in the Premvilāsa written only a few years after the Chaitanya Charitāmr̥ita.

Lokanātha had made it a point not to take disciples, and this accounts for the comparative silence of the Vaiṣṇava historians about him. The disciples generally take elaborate notes of the lives of their Gurus and write their biographies. The only disciple whom Lokanātha

ପରମ ନିରକ୍ଷୁ କଥା ନାହିଁ କାରି ମନେ ।  
ସେ କହୁୟେ ମେ ଅତି ମଧୁଳ ବଚନେ ॥

*The Anurāgaravali.*

admitted was Narottāma. Lokanatha had relaxed his stern principle in favour of Narottama under exceptional circumstances which I shall relate while writing about the latter. Lokanātha was unwilling to admit disciples because they were required to pay honour to their Gurus verging on worship. Lokanātha was afraid lest this might lead to self-glorification and vanity. Throughout his long life he remembered the words which Chaitanya spoke to him while bidding him God-speed on the eve of his journey to Vṛndāvana. "Know this Lokanātha, that neither you nor I are meant to enjoy the pleasures of the world."

Lokanātha remained a bachelor all his life and died at a good old age mourned by the whole Vaiṣṇava community.

### *III.—Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma.*

We have incidentally mentioned Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma in a previous lecture in connection with a controversial discussion which he held with Chaitanya at Puri on spiritual matters, and his eventual defeat and acceptance of Chaitanya as his master (Guru) and the true interpreter of religious truths.

Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma was unquestionably at the head of the scholars of Eastern India at the time. Having read the Upanishads at Benares he became a pupil of the celebraeted

Pakṣadhara Miçra of Mithilā, which, during the youth of Sārvabhauma, was the most important centre of learning in Northern India. The proud position, however, of this place it was reserved for Vāsudeva himself to break down in latter years. He succeeded in establishing the glory of the *tol* he founded at Nadiyā—far exceeding that won by the college where he had completed his education. Pakṣadhar Miçra made it a condition with his pupils that they

The rise of the Navadvipa school of Chintāmañi by Gaigeça of Logic.

were not to transcribe any copy Upādhyāya for their own use. This book was the store-house of contemporaneous knowledge of Logic; and Pakṣadhara having in his possession the only MS. of the great work, jealously guarded it for the benefit of his own college. His own interpretations of the work and teaching on the subject were also considered to be of rare value. So that as far as Logic (which was one of the most important branches of learning at the period) was concerned, the reputation of the Mithila College was far greater than that of any other college in Upper India.

As no copy of the work was allowed to be made, each pupil of Pakṣadhara having to take a solemn vow to that effect before the teacher gave him lessons on the subject, the precious learning lay confined within the four walls of his college-room. However complete

their education at Mithilā, his pupils could not disseminate so perfect a knowledge of the subject in their respective countries, without having in their possession any copy of the original work, which was further enriched by the annotations of several generations of accomplished teachers of Mithilā.

Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma committed to memory not only the four parts of Chintāmaṇi with its valuable store of annotations, but also a very considerable portion of the famous work Kusumāñjali. Without violating the conditions to which he had subscribed, he came to Nadiyā fully equipped with the latest knowledge, and founded a *tol* there, the reputation of which soon spread far and wide, drawing hosts of pupils from all recognised centres of Sanskrit learning throughout India, till the fame of the Maithil College rapidly diminished and was eventually extinguished. Vāsudeva's teachings gave a fresh stimulus to the cause of the study of Logic and his famous pupil Raghunātha Ciromāṇī's name stands first in the list of those who founded the new school of Logic named Navya Nyaya which to this day remains a monument of the keenness of the Bengali intellect. Raghunātha was a son of a widowed Brāhmaṇī woman who earned her living by doing menial work at the house of Sārvabhauma. When only a lad of 3, Raghunātha was asked by Sārvabhauma to get some bits

of burning wood from the kitchen for his pipe. Raghunātha his worthy disciple. The boy first took a quantity of dust in his hand and thus protected brought the bits of burning wood to his master. It is said that this little incident struck the teacher as a sign of the boy's intellectual powers and he undertook to teach him himself. At 5 when Raghunātha began to read the alphabets, he startled his teacher by the question "Sir why is the letter 'କ' placed before 'ଖ'? What harm if their situation is changed?" Raghunātha afterwards rose to a auspicious fame and eclipsed that of his contemporaries in the field of Logic. Vāsudeva's own work in Sanskrit "Sārvabhauma-Nirukti" gave the first start to the pure intellectual basis on which this new school of Logic is founded. Gautama had kept the subject on a spiritual plane, but Navya Nyāya entirely freed it from monastic thrall.

The *tol* of Vāsudeva flourished in Nadiyā between 1470 and 1480 A.D., but a great calamity befell the Hindu residents of the ancient city later on. It was reported to Husen Sāhā, the Emperor of Gauḍa, that a persistent rumour of a prophetic nature was in the air that the Brāhmaṇas of Nadiyā would once more assert their supremacy in Bengal. The fire of heroism still lingered in the old Capital of the Hindu Kings, as the residents of the place were fine archers and had retained till then some of their warlike

traits. The Emperor believed in the prophecy and ordered a general devastation of the place and a forcible conversion of its Brāhmans to Islam. The prophecy referred to is mentioned in the Chaitanya Maṅgal by Jayānanda, who

The Mohamunden was a contemporary of Chaitanya, persecution and the flight of Vasudeva from Nadiya, and confirmed by Vṛndāvana Dāsa

in his Chaitanya Bhāgavata written in 1539. The angry monarch sent a strong Mahomedan army which was stationed at the village of Pirulyā near Nadiyā, and forcibly converted the Brāhmans to the Islamic faith. This is the origin of the Pirulyā Brāhmans. We are told how the Hindus were not permitted to sound the conch shell in their temples and bathe in the Ganges; if they did so they were forcibly served with beef. The temples were desecrated, the fig trees, sacred to the Hindus, were uprooted, and a general panic seized the inhabitants of the old city who fled from it in great numbers and settled in other provinces. Mahesvara Viçāradā, the father of Sārvabhauma, went to Benares at this juncture, and the latter fled to Puri. Sārvabhauma's brother Vidyāvāchaśpati deserted his country-seat and settled in a different part of Bengal.

So great was the fame of Vāsudeva as a scholar that Pratāpa Rudra, the king of Orissa, accorded him a royal reception, offering him a gold throne next to his own in his court. Thus

Honoured by the King of Orissa. honoured Vāsudeva continued to live at Puri. We also learn from Jayānanda's work how a change came over the spirit of Husen Sāhā's administration. He shortly after repented of his oppression, being convinced of the innocence of the Nadiyā Brāhmaṇas and repaired as far as was possible the wrongs inflicted on them.

Husen Sāhā had before this time destroyed some of the great temples of Orissa and led an expedition to conquer the province. But Pratāpa Rudra was more than his match in the field. Not only he obliged Husen Sāhā to retreat, but himself planned an expedition, by way of retaliation, for the conquest of Bengal. Owing to some cause he could not however carry out his plan. He effectively held, however, the aggressive Islam spirit in check so far as his vast kingdom was concerned.

It was at Puri that Vāsudeva first met Chaitanya. He was then a lad of 24, of handsome appearance, and had taken the ascetic's vow and come to Puri to visit the temple of Jagannātha. The sight of the temple threw him into one of his fits of delirious joy, and heedless of the pilgrims and priests he ran ahead of them like a mad man and entered the temple. Before the image of God Chaitanya swooned in the height of his emotion. The Pāṇḍās—the custodians of the temple—taking him for a mad man,

beat him with a cane while in that unconscious state. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma was at the temple and was attracted by the sight of the handsome

Interview with Chaitanya. young Sannyāsī lying unconscious on the floor. He prevented the

Pāndās from beating him, and ordered him to be carried to his own house. For 8 hours Chaitanya lay unconscious, the tears trickling down his cheeks, but he occasionally spoke a few broken words indicative of the joy at his union with the Deity. By this time his companions had already arrived and were now at the house of Sārvabhauma. They recited the name of Kṛṣṇa aloud and sang his praises, upon which Chaitanya came back to his senses. Vāsudeva asked his brother-in-law Gopinātha who that interesting young man was. The latter told him that he was a citizen of Nadiyā. Nilāmvara Chakravartī, the father of Chaitanya's mother Čachī, was a great friend of Sārvabhauma's father Mahesvara Viçārada. Sārvabhauma hearing this became interested in Chaitanya. The venerable scholar himself served the young Sannyāsī with meal on a golden plate, and invited him to stay in his house. He also showed great hospitality to his companions, who were for the most part citizens of Nadiyā. This happened in 1509 A.D. Chaitanya Charitāmṛta relates the following dialogue between Vāsudeva and Gopinātha at this stage : Vāsudeva :—“This young

man is a *Sannyāsī*. To what Order of ascetics does he belong?" Gopinātha :— "He is a disciple of Keçava Bhāratī." Vāsudeva :— "But there are better Orders of *Sannyāsīs*. He is quite a young man and has attractive looks, it will be difficult for him to keep the chastity of the ascetic's vow. I shall teach him *Vedānta* and give him a better

Vasudeva's resolve to improve Chaitanya's spiritual training. spiritual ideal. He must forgo the inferior Order in which he has enlisted his name and be made to enter into a higher Order." Gopinātha :— "He does not care for forms, it matters little to what Order he belongs. You have not known him yet, when you do so, you will find him much above anything that you may have to teach."

Vāsudeva told Chaitanya in his next interview with him that as a *Sannyāsī* he deserves every respect from him; but he asked what right he had to take a *Sannyāsa* vow while still so young. The *Çāstras*, he said, have laid it down that one may renounce the world and become a *Sannyāsī* only when he has passed at least two thirds of the usual term of life. Chaitanya humbly replied "Do not, oh venerable sir, think me, to be so exalted a personage as a *Sannyāsī*. A longing for union with God has driven me mad, and thus have I shaven my head, torn my sacred thread and come away from home. I am only a boy before you and do not know even what is good and what is bad

for me. Kindly give me lessons and teach me the right course. I am grateful to you for protecting me from the hands of the Pāṇdās to-day.” That day Vāsudeva called him again

The silent listener. to his presence and asked him to

listen attentively to the interpretations of the sacred texts which he would deliver in the evening. Chaitanya quietly sat and listened to the wonderful dissertations on theology which the veteran scholar gave. Not one day, but for seven consecutive days he did so, before a large and admiring audience. On the 8th day Vāsudeva said to Chaitanya “For seven days you have heard my discourses on the sacred Upanishads but have made no comments, sitting mute all the while.” Chaitanya replied “I am no scholar, and have not the capacity to enter into the spirit of your learned discourse. I listened to it simply because you ordered me to do so and also because it is the duty of a Sannyāsī to hear the interpretations of holy books.” Sārvabhauma said “Those who could not understand any portions of my speech referred their difficulties to me, which I have taken pains to elucidate. But you have not done so. I am not sure in what spirit you have taken my discourses. Your attitude seems mysterious to me.” Chaitanya said “Sir, since you wish me to speak I must confess that the texts of the Upanishads are quite clear to me, but your explanations have clouded

their meaning. You avoid the direct meaning of the texts and indulge in niceties which do not, to my mind, represent the real spirit of the sacred books." Chaitanya then explained the texts himself quoting profusely from the Čāstras.

The extraordinary discourse.

He first referred to the 31st Čloka, Chapter XIV of the 10th Skanda of Ćrīmat Bhāgavata and

next dwelt upon the text of the 64th Čloka of the 7th Chapter of the 6th Part of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, referring in support of it to the 5th Čloka of the 7th Chapter of the Gītā beginning with ভূমিরাপোতনিলো বায়ঃ খঃ মনোবুদ্ধিরেবচ and made a speech which struck Sārvabhauma as extraordinary. But Sārvabhauma brought up an array of controversial arguments to demolish দ্বৈতবাদ (dualism) which Chaitanya had established. Chaitanya replied eloquently with a spiritual fervour which made the deepest impression on his audience. His reply supported as it was by scholarly references and a clear and straightforward statement of his points, demolished the *advaitavāda* of Vāsudeva to its foundation. When Chaitanya at the end recited the 31st Čloka of the 62nd Chapter of the Padmapurāṇa and burst into emotional ecstasy singing the hymn অয়ে দীন দয়াদ্র নাথ (Oh thou compassion itself and the

Vasudeva admits  
Chaitanya's divinity.

refuge of those who are heavy-laden) he could say no more; half broken words 'oh thou, compassion

itself' only came out of his lips, while tears dropped from his eyes and choked his voice till he passed into that trance—the beatific vision—which showed him to be more than a common mortal. His eyes rained tears, and were fixed heavenwards. His arms were outstretched, as if to embrace the Unseen; he became unconscious of the physical world and a radiance came into his face which showed the heavenly sight of God-in-Man.

So irresistible was his charm that the old scholar of 80 who was looked on as the very fountain of all learning now fell at the young Sannyāsi's feet and accepted him as his God and saviour. The beautiful Gaurāṅgāṣṭaka, or 8 stanzas in honour of Chaitanya, that he wrote in Sanskrit, bears testimony to his profound faith in the apostle of Nadiyā.

It was from Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and Gopīnātha that the king Pratāpa Rudra had heard of the greatness of Chaitanya, which made him so eagerly seek an interview with him.

Vāsudeva's great reverence for Chaitanya is expressed in his celebrated utterance mentioned by the author of the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta in the 9th Chapter of the Madhya Khaṇḍa of his work. We have already referred to it on p. 4 and quote it here again:—"If a thunderbolt falls on my head or even my sons die—that I can bear, but not that I should be deprived of the

company of the Master.”<sup>1</sup> Govinda Dāsa, who took down notes of Chaitanya’s tour in the Deccan while he travelled with him, writes that on the return of Chaitanya to Puri the venerable Sārvabhauma with joined hands addressed him and said “That I could bear a separation from you bespeaks a heart of stone in me” and the man fell on his knees weeping like a woman.<sup>2</sup>

Sārvabhauma died at about 1520 A.D. His only son Durgādāsa was also a scholar. He annotated the celebrated Sanskrit Grammar, Durgadas, his son son. the Mugdabodha by Bopadeva and also wrote a commentary of Kavikalpadruma. Durgādāsa had the title of Vidyāvāgiṇa or ‘the master of learning and speech.’

### LX. Rāmānanda Rāy.

Rāmānanda Rāy was the prime minister of Rājā Pratāp Rudra of Orissa. His celebrated Sanskrit Drama “Jagannātha Vallabha” was one of the few books which were read and sung before Chaitanya every day by his order. This proves the admiration in which the

<sup>1</sup> ‘শিরে বজ্র পড়ে যদি পুত্র মরি যায়।  
তাহা সহি তোমার বিচ্ছেদ সহন না যায় ॥’

<sup>2</sup> নাচিতে লাগিলা গোরা বাত পশারিয়া ।  
সার্বভৌম পদতলে পঞ্জিল লুটিয়া ।  
হাত জোড়ি সার্বভৌম কহিতে লাগিল  
তোমার বিরহ বাণ হনুমে বিক্ষিল ।  
বড় মৃচ বলি তব বিরহ সহিয়া ।  
এত দিন আছি মুই পরাণ ধরিয়া ।

book was held by the Master. Rāma Rāy was a native of Vidyānagara in central India. The prime minister of the king of Orissa had the title of Rājā. When Chaitanya was at Puri, Bhabānanda Rāy, the father of Rāmānanda, still lived, and it is mentioned in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛita that Chaitanya once embraced the old man saying “Your son Rāmānanda is dear to me as my own self.” Rāmānanda had four brothers; Gopinātha Pāttanāyak, Kalānidhi, Sudhānidhi and Bāni-nātha. They were all devoted to Chaitanya. Rāmānanda met Chaitanya first on the bank of the Godāvarī, a few miles from his own town of Vidyānagara. It was in the month of June 1510 A.D. The former had gone there, borne in a picturesque palakin, with a large escort interview with and a good number of Vaidika Chaitanya. Brāhmaṇs. Here Chaitanya paid him a visit and said that he had heard a good deal about his fervent faith from Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and had longed to see him. Saying this he embraced the minister much to the surprise and embarrassment of the Brāhmaṇs present, who said to one another “Look at this holy man, resplendant as a god. How strange that he touches a Cūḍra and weeps for joy!”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> এই না বাক্ষণ তেজে দেখি বৃক্ষ সম।

ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଆଲିଙ୍ଗିଆ କେନ କରେଣ କ୍ରମନ ॥

The famous dialogue of Chaitanya with Rāmānanda unfolding the very spirit of the religion which the former preached, has been elaborately discussed in the Chaitanya Charitā-mṛita, and we cannot help here giving the gist of it. Rāmānanda at the bidding of Chaitanya describes the various stages of Bhakti (devotion). The first is the Sādhyā Bhakti or that faith which has for its final goal the carrying out of the

The famous dialogue. duties prescribed to each caste by the Āśtras; the text quoted was the verse VIII, Chapter 8, Part III of the Viṣṇupurāṇa. For elucidation of the next higher stage Rāma Rāy took for his text the verse XXVII, Chapter IX of the Gītā which says that one should work without a thought of the result—dedicating it to God. “Even this is merely external,” said Chaitanya, “enter deeper still.” and Rāma Rāy in describing the next higher stage took for his text the verse XXXII of Skanda XIII of the Cṛīmat Bhāgavata and the verse 67 of Chapter XVIII of the Gītā which urges upon a spiritual aspirant the duty of resigning himself absolutely to God, leaving aside all forms and rites that belong to his sect—“leave every thing else, all professions and callings, and surrender yourself to me”—says Kṛiṣṇa in the latter verse “and I will save you from all sins and sorrows.” When called upon to enter still deeper into the truths of religion, Rāma Rāy

said that the spiritual soul must yearn for faith which springs from a true knowledge of things. The text quoted was the verse 50, Chapter XVII of the Gītā which says that one who has known God is content in himself and neither mourns a loss nor feels a desire.

A still higher plane of Sādhya Bhakti is explained by Rāma Rāy at the bidding of the Master, the text quoted being verse III, Chapter 15 of the 10th Skanda of the Črīmat Bhāgavata in which knowledge (ज्ञान) falls into the back-ground and faith (भक्ति) becomes the sole object. In a still higher plane of spiritual life faith takes the character of love; the text being a verse from Padmāvalī.

This closes the sphere of Baidha Bhakti or that faith which follows the monastic rules and the injunctions of the scriptures, and Rāma Rāy elucidates the principles of higher Vaiṣṇava theology which aims at a direct communion with God. The first stage of this, according to verse XIII, Chapter III of Črīmat Bhāgavata is to worship God by work, even as a servant does his Master, not as a matter of duty alone, but impelled by love.

The servant carries out the command of the master and though he may do so with love, he remains one step below and cannot approach Him too close. The second stage referred to in verse II, Chapter XII of the 10th Skanda of

Bhāgavata describes the Sakhya in which God becomes our friend and guide. He no longer commands, but is actually with us, playing on the stage of the world. The players love one another, as they are conscious that He is one of themselves and is the Main Player directing their plays. When danger comes, it loses its terror, as they know their friend to be in their midst, controlling their destiny and taking care of them. "Next" says Rāmānanda Ray at the bidding of Chaitanya "is the stage of Bātsalya Prema or love for a child." The text quoted in support of this is verse XXXVII, Chapter XVIII of the 10th Skanda of the Āśrīmat Bhāgvata. The world plays round the spiritual man as children and he watches it with affectionate care, as parents do. His only duty is to offer his constant and anxious care to the well-being of all. This 'all' is his God. His affection is of a cosmopolitan character. Jasodā, like Madona of the Christian, typifies the Mother anxious for the protection of the divine child—the ever-growing new babe of humanity. Even one's own enemy appears to him in this stage as a mere child and is regarded with compassion and kindness. How this may be possible is to be found in the little incident of Nityananda's conduct to Jagai and Mādhai described on pp. 38-42. The baby of humanity grows wicked at times and kicks in

return of love. The godly man feels no anger but blesses the children gone astray and prays for them saying : “Father forgive them, for they know not what they do” even when they put a crown of thorns on his head and nail him to a cross.

In a still higher stage of spirituality the soul approaches God as a Gopi—the maid who forgets herself in the delight of witnessing the spectacle of devine love that comes from all sides. The text quoted is verse VIII of the 10th Canto of Govinda Līlā-mṛta which says that the Gopī does not desire direct contact with Kṛṣṇa. She deeply appreciates and enjoys the sight of supreme bliss which is to be seen in the Vṛndā groves in the *amours* of the eternal God Kṛṣṇa and his eternal lover Rādhā. The function of the Gopi is identical with that of the poet which Sir Rabindranath Tagore expresses so happily in the language of modern poetry :—

“Ah poet, the evening draws near ;  
Your hair is turning gray,  
“Do you in your lonely musing hear the message of the hereafter ?

“It is evening,” the poet said “and I am listening because some one may call from the village, late though it be.”

“I watch the young straying hearts meet together, and two pairs of eager eyes beg for

music, to break their silence and speak for them.

“Who is there to weave their passionate songs, if I sit on the shore of life and contemplate death, and the beyond ?”

“The early evening star disappears. The glow of the funeral pyre slowly dies by the silent river.

“Jackals cry in chorus from the courtyard of the deserted house in the light of the worn-out moon.

“If some wanderer, leaving home comes here to watch the night and with bowed head listens to the murmur of the darkness, who is there to whisper the secrets of life into his ears, if I shutting my doors, should try to free myself from mortal bonds ?”

“It is a trifle that my hair is turning gray.

“I am ever as young or old as the youngest or the oldest of the village.

“Some have smiles, sweet and simple, and some a sly twinkle in their eyes.

“Some have tears that well up in the daylight and others tears that are hidden in the gloom.

“They all have need for me and I have no time to brood over the after life.

“I am of an age with each, what matter if my hair turns gray ?”

The Gopīs are represented as ‘witnesses and helpers of the eternal play’ without a thought

of their own personal happiness. Thus forgetful of their own selves, they are privileged to enter the groves of sacred love, aiding in the union of soul with soul--ministrants to the cause of love which flows from the eternal fountain of bliss. They are ever young in their appreciation of all that is beautiful and good in nature. 'Time writes no wrinkles on their brows.' They live in Vṛndāvana--the spiritual heaven of the Vaiṣṇavas, where the soul entirely free from the bonds of social traditions on one hand, and from the obligations of scriptural rites on the other, finds out its own path

The Rāgānuga inspired by love alone. This path is called the *rāgānugā* as opposed to that of Baidhi Bhakti or faith that aims at observance of the instructions contained in the scriptures. The texts quoted by Rāma Ray for elucidation of this stage were verse XX, Chapter XXXX, verse XIX, Chapter XXXVII, verse XVI, Chapter IX, and verse 54, Chapter XXXVII of the 10th Skanda of Āśrīmatvāgvata. The Gopī is unattached to the world. No narrow selfish view clouds her perfect vision of that bliss which pervades the universe. Hence she occupies the position of Guru in the Vaiṣṇava theology. She is the witness of the "eternal play" and is its right interpreter. "Without her help" adds Rāma Ray, quoting another text from the Āśrīmatvāgvata "No one is

privileged to enter into the region of spiritual love".

In the Vaiṣṇva theology the position of the Gopi as Guru is indicated by the fact that all the recognised religious preceptors of that faith who were either Chaitanya's contemporaries or lived within half a century of him are believed by the Vaiṣṇavas to be the incarnations of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana. Thus Narahari is believed to be an incarnation of the Gopi named Madhumālā, Vāsu Ghosh of Guṇatungā and so forth.

The highest stage in this field belongs to Rādhā, who typifies the full blown beauty of spiritual love. Chaitanya's suggestive enquiries made Ramānanda speak with great emotion and force of the love of Rādhā for Kṛṣṇa; and Chaitanya supplemented the interesting dialogue by quoting verse XXXIV, Chapter II of the 11th Skanda, and verse IX, Chapter XXV of the 10th Skanda of the Çrīmadvāgvata which says "Whatever the spiritual soul sees in this perfect stage of bliss becomes to it a reminder of God. The gross goes into the back ground and all that is seen presents to the eyes the all-embracing spirit of love--the perfect and clear vision of the living God.

Rāma Ray said "This highest stage of spiritual

Rāma Ray's admiration for  
Chaitanya.

love has assumed a material form before me to-day and I find the rapturous ecstasies of love

attributed to Rādhā in you, oh my Master". Rāma Ray saw the greatest marvel *viz.* a man loving God with all the ardour of his soul—frenzied by the emotions of love and steeped in ecstasies of boundless joy.

Ten days and nights Rāma Ray and Chaitanya spent together and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kaviraja, the author of Chaitanya Charitāmṛta says "As a man finds a clue to an underground treasure from which he at first collects bronze and copper and then jewels and diamonds, so the longer he talked with Chaitanya the more he found new paths opened to unknown treasures of spiritual experience. The beauty of Chaitanya's trances and emotions convinced him of the truth of what he had read in the sacred books with an overwhelming force. The presence of Chaitanya inspired him to compose a mystic song of great beauty which may thus be rendered into English :

"At the beginning glances from each other revealed to us both the wonders of love—of the new world we now entered upon.

"From that time forward our impassioned feelings have blossomed in an uninterrupted beauty.

"Neither he nor I took any account of our  
The song of sex—that he was a man and I  
Rāmananda. a woman.

"Cupid shot his arrows through our hearts and we were drawn to each other.

"Oh maid, tell Kṛṣṇa of those sweet days  
and pray him that he may not forget them

"We took no help of any third person nor of  
the path which the learned follow.

"If any one helped us, it was *Virāga*--the  
spirit of renunciation, and Cupid alone was our  
guide".<sup>1</sup>

We find in the *Kaṭchha* by Govindā Dāsa that  
Its mysticism. Chaitanya preached this "You  
think that the romantic relation  
between man and woman is love, but I warn you  
it is not. True love will dawn only on those  
hearts which have risen above sexual feelings."<sup>2</sup>

The next thing required for spiritual growth  
is the spirit of renunciation. Both these elements  
are hinted in the above mystical song. It  
further refers to the stage where the help of a  
Guru or a third person is not needed and the  
paths prescribed by the scriptures are ignored,—

<sup>1</sup> "পহিলহি রাগ নয়ন ভঙ্গে তেল ।  
অনুদিন বাড়ল অবধি না গেল ॥  
না দে রমণ না হাম রমণী ।  
হৃহ মনে মনসিজ পেশল জানি ॥  
এসথি দে সব প্রেম কাহিনী ।  
কামু ঠামে কহবি বিচরব জানি ।  
না খোজল দৃতি না পঁজল জ্ঞান  
হৃহ ক মিলন মাঝহি পাঁচ বাণ  
অবসই বিরাগ তুহ তেল দৃতি  
শুপুরুষ প্রেম ঐছন রৌতি ।

<sup>2</sup> "অবলা লাগিয়া আর্তি ঘদি প্রেম হয় ।  
তবে ত এ প্রেমতত্ত্ব কিছুই যে নয় ॥  
অভেদ পূর্ণ নারি যখন জানিবে ।  
তখন প্রেমের তত্ত্ব উদয় হইবে ।"

The spell of love alone possesses the soul which longs for direct communion.

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### *X. Narahari Sarkar.*

Among the other followers and friends of Chaitanya, Narahari Sarkār of the village of Črikhanda in the District of Burdwan deserves a prominent mention. His father was Nārāyaṇa Deva Sarkar—a Vaidya by caste. The family claimed descent from Pantha Dāsa (1100—1169 A.D.) who was the Commander-in-Chief of Vallala Sen's army. In the Sanskrit genealogical work the Chandra Prabhā—  
The pedigree. we find it mentioned that Pantha Dāsa settled in a flourishing village named Balinasī in the district of Burdwan. Some of his descendants later on moved to the village of Maureçvara in the same district and thence to Črikhanda.

Narahari's elder brother Mukunda was physician to Husain Sāhā, the Emperor of Gaur. Mukunda's son Raghunandana acquired celebrity in the subsequent period of Vaiṣṇava history as a scholar and pious man. Narahari was born in 1478 A.D. and was one of the constant companions of Chaitanya when the latter was at Nadiyā. We find him also paying his annual

visit to Puri to meet Chaitanya along with other Bengalis during the rainy seasons. He is described in contemporary historical works as of

Why he is not mentioned in the Chaitanya Bhāgavata.  
a handsome appearance and a bright fair colour. It is stated that Vṛndāvana Dāsa, the author of the Chaitanya Bhāgavata had some private grudge against Narahari on which account he was not mentioned in his work. The next biographer of Chaitanya, Lochana Dāsa, was, however, a disciple of Narahari and made several respectful references to his Guru in his work. Lochana

<sup>Lochana Dāsa,</sup> Dāsa's Chaitanya Mangala was his disciple. composed in 1537 A.D. only two years after the Chaitanya Bhāgavata of Vṛndāvana Dāsa.<sup>1</sup>

Narahari is chiefly known for the songs he composed in praise of Chaitanya. The burden of these songs is often a tender yearning of the poet's soul for meeting Chaitanya. They show the ardour of womanly passion and their language is borrowed from that of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana as described in the Bhāgavata-literature. Late Babu Jagatbandhu Bhadra collected a little above 100 of these songs, and these are the first that were composed in the vernacular in glorification of Chaitanya. Later on Vāsudeva Ghosh, also a contemporary of Chatianya,

<sup>1</sup> See Preface to 'Gaurapada Tarangini' by Jagatbandhu Bhadra, (1904), pp. 130 and 154.

The first vernacular songs on Chaitanya.

took the field composing masterpieces or similar songs. These describe every incident of Chaitanya's life in an impassionate language, often reaching a high level of genuine pathos. But Narahari must be given the credit of being the pioneer in the field. In his day Chaitanya's life was not yet written in the vernacular; for in one of his songs Narahari writes :

"One who will write his (Chaitanya's) biography is not yet born. Long may we have to wait for him. If the Master's life be written in the vernacular all people will understand it. Oh when will the lord fulfill this expectation of ours<sup>1</sup> "

It appears that a biographical account of Chaitanya in Sanskrit was already written by Murari Gupta when Narahari wrote these lines. In them a stress is laid on the word 'vernacular' which may be taken as hinting at the already existing Sanskrit work.

Besides these songs Narahari wrote a book named *Nāmāmrta Samudra* in Bengali and another named *Bhajanāmrta* in Sanskrit.

Narahari was the first among the numerous followers of Chaitanya to preach the Chaitanya-cult. He prepared the code and the *mantra* for the worship of Chaitanya and these were accepted

He is the first to preach the Chaitanya-cult.

ଅହୁ ଲିଖିବେ ଯେ, ଏଥନ୍ତି ଜାଗ୍ରେ ନାହିଁ ମେ, ଜଞ୍ଜିତେ ବିଲମ୍ବ ଆଛେ ବହୁ ।

ଶାଶ୍ୱତ ରଚ୍ଯା ହୈଲେ, ବୁଝିବେ ଲୋକ ମକଳେ, କବେ ବାହୁ ପୁରାବେନ ପଂହ ॥

by other Vaiṣṇavas in Bengal, a short time after. The descendants of Narahari are known as Vaidya Goswāmis of Čīkhanda having a large following of Brahmin disciples.

The great love in which Narahari was held by Chaitanya is indicated by the fact that the latter while touring in the Deccan about the year 1510 mentioned Narahari in one of his trances. Chaitanya was totally absorbed in his emotional felicities and seemed to have forgotten the rest of the world for the two years during which he visited the shrines and holy cities of the South. This mention of Narahari shows that he remembered at least one of his friends at Nadia. The passage which refers to this mention is found in Govinda Dasa's *Kaṭchā* and may be thus translated :

“Sometimes in his frenzy Chaitanya says  
 ‘Oh Narahari, dear as my life,  
 come and sing the praises of  
 Kṛṣṇa and for this, dear friend,  
 I will embrace you.’”

Chaitanya's recollection of Narahari in the Deccan.

“Narahari died in the Čaka 1463 or 1511 A.D.

কথন বলেন কোথা আগ নবহরি,

হরিনাম শুনি তোরে আলিঙ্গন করি।

*XI. Vançīvadana.*

Vançīvadana was the writer of some exquisite songs on Chaitanya and Rādhā Kṛṣṇa. Jadunandana Dāsa wrote a memoir of Vançīvadana in the Çaka 1638 or 1716 A.D. This work is called the Vançīcikṣā. We learn from it that Vançīvadana was born in the year 1494 A.D.

He was therefore junior to  
*The Vançīcikṣā.* Chaitanya by 8 years. His father Chhakari Chatto was a resident of the village of Patuli near Kāluā but afterwards settled at Kulia, one of the wards of the town of Nadiya, now merged in the Ganges. Besides his numerous songs which are to be found in the Padakalpataru and other song-anthologies of the Vaiṣṇavas, Vançīvadana wrote two works named Dwipakojjala and Dwipannitā.

Chaitanya held frequent discussions with Vançīvadana on the cardinal doctrines of the Vaiṣṇava creed and these are embodied in the work Vançīcikṣā which we have just mentioned.

To the Vaiṣṇavas Vançīvadana's name is specially sacred, as he became guardian of Viññupriyā Devī, wife of Chaitanya, when the latter took Sannyās and left Nadiyā for good. An image of Chaitanya was made by Vançīvadana at her bidding and was daily worshipped by her. The descendants of Yādava Miçra are

*Vançī Vadana's  
songs.*

the present custodians of this image which is now worshipped in a temple at Nadiyā.

I shall attempt here to translate two of the songs of Vāncivadana. The pathos of the original Bengali and their perfect rythm must inevitably be lost in my translation.

[Rādhā, though a princess is a milk-maid and as such goes to sell milk and curd, this being her professional calling. It is mid-day and Kṛṣṇa thus accosts her in the path.]

“Oh my charming one, how can you walk by such a path as this ?

“Here take your seat under the cool shade of Kadamva and I shall myself buy all that you may have to sell.

“The mid-day sun shines over head and the dust of the path burns below. Your feet, my love, are tender as the lily-buds.

‘হেদেলো বিনোদিনী, এ পথে কেমনে যাবে তুমি,  
শীতল কদম্ব তলে, বৈসহ আমাৰ কোলে, সকল কিনিয়া লব আমি ;  
এ ভৱ দুপুর বেলা, তাত্ত্বিল পথেৰ ধূলা, কমল জিনিয়া পদ তোৱি,  
রৌপ্যে ঘামিয়াছে মৃখ, দেখি লাগে বড় দুঃখ, অম-ভৱে এলাল কবৰী ;  
অমূল্য রতন সাথে, গোঙারেৰ ভয় পথে, লাগি পাইলে লইবে কাড়িয়া ।  
তোমাৰ লাগিয়া আমি, এই পথে মহা দানী, তিল মাত্ৰ না যেও চাড়িয়া ॥’’  
‘মোহন বিজন বনে, দুৰে গেল সপীগশে, একলি রহল ধনী রাই,  
দুটি অঁথি ছল ছলে, চৱণ কমল তলে, কানু আসি পড়িল লুটাই ;  
বিনোদিনী জনম সফল তেল খোৱ  
তোমা হেন শুধুনিৰ্ধি, পথে আনি দিল বিধি;  
আজুক স্থারে নাহি ওৱ ।  
ৱিবিৰ কিৱণ পাইছে, টান্দ মুখ ঘামিয়াছে, মুখৰ মঞ্চীৰ ঢটি পায়,  
হিয়াৰ উপৱেৰ রাখি, জুড়াৰ তাপিত অঁথি, চৰন চচিত কৱি গায়,  
এতেক মিনতি কৱি রাইএৰ কৱি ধৰি মৃছাটল পদ পীতবাসে,  
নিৰ্জনে দোহার সনে, মিলল নিকুঞ্জ বনে, মনে মনে তাসে বংশী দাসে ॥’’

“ It pains me to behold your sweet face flushed by heat and your braided hair hanging all loose from labour.

“ Priceless diamonds are on your person ; not safe are these from the robbers who infest the high-way.

“ Here do I hold the tax-collector’s Office only for you, my beloved. Leave me not, I pray.”

“ The maidens all wandered away, leaving Rādhā alone in that charming woody land.

“ His eyes glistening with tears of joy, Kṛṣṇa came and fell at her lotus feet, saying ‘Oh my charming one, blessed am I, God be thanked that we have met in this place. My happiness knows no bounds to-day.

“ The sun has smitten your moon-like face with its rays and the sound of the anklets on your feet proclaims the labour of your walk, my beloved.

“ Fain would I place your lovely feet on my bosom and they will be a delight to my eager eyes.

“ Permit me, dear, to sprinkle fragrant sandal-drops on you. Saying this, with imploring looks he held her by the hand and with his own purple garment did he wipe away the dust from her feet.

“ In the lonely bower thus did the lovers meet and Vāṇīdāsa is pleased at their meeting.”

Vançīvadana Chatto following the traditional courtesy of the Vaiṣṇava poets subscribes himself as Vançīdāsa in the above colophon. These songs were written about the year 1620 A.D.

Vançīvadana had two sons—Chaitanya Dāsa and Nityānanda Dāsa. Prof. His descendants. Bhāgavata Goswami, M.A. of the Hughli College is descended from Vançīvadana.

### XVII. *Vāsudeva Ghoṣa.*

Vāsudeva Ghoṣa, the famous musician and poet, was one of the most conspicuous figures in the processions of *kīrtana* led by Chaitanya at Nadiyā. Vāsudeva and his two brothers Mādhavānanda and Gobindānanda were all devoted to Chaitanya. They were originally residents of Kumārhatṭa from where they came down to Nadiyā and settled there. Vāsudeva's songs are now by far the best of those which have for their themes the incidents of Chaitanya's life. He was one of those who deeply mourned the Sannyās of Chaitanya and his desertion of Nadiyā. This invests his songs with intense pathos and intrinsic poetry. Vāsudeva acknowledges that he owed his first impetus in writing songs on Chaitanya to the poems of Narahari Sarkār. He thus refers to his indebtedness

Indebted to Na-  
raharī.

“ I drank from the fount of songs composed  
by Narahari Sarkār and thus  
conceived the notion of writing  
poems on Chaitanya.”<sup>1</sup>

“ When he sang the songs of his own composition ” writes the venerable Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja in his Chaitanya-Charitamṛta “ descriptive of Chaitanya’s life, even the wood and stone would melt at hearing them.”<sup>2</sup> We find it mentioned in work named Vaiśṇavāchāra Darpana that Vāsudeva Ghosā spent the last part of his life at Tamluk - the old maritime town Tāmralipta.

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### XIII. *Murāri Gupta.*

Murāri Gupta was born in Sylhet about 1471 A.D. and was a Vaidya by caste. Along with Črīvāsa, Chandra Čekhara and others he left Sylhet and came and settled at Nadiyā in his early youth. He acquired profound scholarship in Logic, Medicine and other subjects and though older than Chaitanya by at least 15 years, held many learned disputations with him, while the latter was a student in the *tol* of Gangādāsa Pañdit at Nadiyā.

<sup>1</sup> শ্রীমরকার ঠাকুরের পদামৃত পানে

পঞ্চ অকাশিব বলি ইচ্ছা কৈল মনে।

<sup>2</sup> বাহুদেব গীতে করে অভূত বর্ণনে

কাটি পায়াণ দ্রবে যাহার শ্রবণে।

Murari became so devoted to Chaitanya that on hearing the news of his resolution to take Sannyās, he attempted to commit suicide and was discovered by Chaitanya preparing his self-destruction with a knife and was dissuaded from this course.

Desists from committing suicide.

Murāri Gupta is said to have been a worshipper of Rāma and is therefore believed by the orthodox Vaiṣṇavas as an incarnation of Hanumāna—Rama's devoted servant. Murāri's humility and high morals form the subject of praise in all the memoirs of Chaitanya. We find it mentioned in Chaitanya-Charitāmṛta that when on his visit to Chaitanya at Puri, the latter touched him with his hand in an affectionate manner, Murāri shrank a little and said that he was a great sinner not worthy of the Master's touch. Chaitanya said “Murāri no more, it breaks my heart to see the humility of such a venerable and pious man.” In the Kāḍehā of Govinda we find Murāri as one of the foremost of those who welcomed Chaitanya at Puri on his return from the Deccan. His emotion on the occasion was so great that he fell unconscious on the ground near Chaitanya's feet.<sup>1</sup>

Murāri Gupta is the first writer of a biographical account of Chaitanya. He wrote it in Sanskrit in 1514,

The first biography of Chaitanya.

four years after Chaitanya had left Nadiyā as a Sannyāsī. During these years wild stories had grown at Nadiyā attributing superhuman qualities and powers to Chaitanya. And the veteran scholar in his touching admiration believed them all and poetically described them in his celebrated work. Chaitanya was unwilling that his life should be written by any one. Murāri, as I have said, wrote one after Chaitanya had left his native town. Govinda Dāsa alone recorded facts of his life as he saw them, but tells us that he did so very privately without the knowledge of Chaitanya who was averse to self-glorification. Swarupa Dāmodar, one of the most learned admirers of Chaitanya, is also said to have written some biographical notes of him about this time; we have, however, come across only a few incomplete specimens of them. Govinda Dāsa wrote his notes on Chaitanya's tour in the Deccan in vernacular in 1511-1513, but these were kept in strict privacy. Of the contemporary records of Chaitanya's life, therefore, Murāri's book, written in elegant Sanskrit, was by far the most widely read among the Vaiṣṇavas and respected by them as a standard authority to which all subsequent biographers referred in a spirit of reverence and with perfect trust.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja the author of Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, says of this work :

"All the incidents of Chaitanya's boyhood have been recorded in the form of notes by Murāri Gupta."<sup>1</sup>

Later on Lochana Dāsa, the author of Chaitanya Maṅgala, mentions these notes as follows:—

"Murāri Gupta of the Vaidya cast was a resident of Nadiyā. He was one of the constant companions of Chaitanya. Murāri wrote in Sanskrit the incidents of the Master's life up to his youth. I read this narrative and was charmed with it. This is how I first conceived the idea of writing Chaitanya's life."<sup>2</sup>

Murāri Gupta's Kādchā, as his work is called, has lately been published from the Amṛta Bāzār Patrikā Press, Calcutta.

#### XIV.—*Gopāla Bhatta.*

Gopāla Bhatta, who is reputed as the author of Hari Bhakti Vilāsa, a work which he elaborated rather than wrote himself, was the son of Benkata Bhatta and a nephew of the celebrated Pravodhānanda Sarasvatī of Benares whom we

<sup>1</sup> "ଆଦି ଲୀଳା ମଧ୍ୟେ ପ୍ରଭୁର ଯତେକ ଚରିତ ।

ସ୍ଵତ୍ର କୁଣ୍ଡଳେ ମୁରାରି ଶୁଣ୍ଡ କରିଲା ପ୍ରସ୍ତିତ ॥

<sup>2</sup> ମୁରାରି ଶୁଣ୍ଡ ବେଜ ବୈଦେ ନବଦ୍ଵୀପେ ।

ନିରନ୍ତର ଥାକେ ଗୋରାଟୀଦେର ସମୀପେ ॥

ଜନ୍ମ ହେତେ ବାଲକ ଚରିତ ଯାହା କୈଲ ।

ଶ୍ରୀନିଯୁ ଆମାର ମନେ ବାଡିଲ ପୌରିତ ।

ପାଚାଳି ପ୍ରବକ୍ଷେ କିହୋ ଗୋରାଙ୍ଗ-ଚରିତ ॥

have already mentioned in a previous lecture. Benkata Bhatta had two brothers, Pravodhānanda who obtained celebrity as the leader of the Dandi sect of the ascetics of Benares, and Trimalla who lived in the Deccan. Gopāla Bhatta was born in 1503 A.D. in the village of Bhat-

His pedigree tamāri in Southeren India, so he was only 7 years old when

Chaitanya visited his native country. We do not credit the account to be found in the Prema-vilāsa, the Bhaktiratnākar and other later works, that Chaitanya spent four months of a rainy season at the house of Benkata Batta at Bhattamāri. Govinda Dāsa, who mentions minute details of Chaitanya's tour there, does not say that the latter stayed anywhere in the country for more than a week except at Dvārakā. The author of Chaitanya Charitāmṛta was greatly indebted to Gopāla Bhatta for some of the materials of his monumental work. But while treating of other particulars about him, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja does not refer to Chaitanya's stay for four months at Bhattamāri. This omission is significant, and shows the untrustworthy character of the tradition. It must have been fabricated by the later writers in order to give import-

The tale of Chaitanya's staying for 4 months with Gopāla Bhatta in the Deccan is unreliable.

ance to Gopāla Bhatta for his long association with the Master. It is quite possible that after Pravodhānanda's acceptance of

Chaitanya as his saviour and Guru, his nephew was naturally attracted to take the banner of Vaiṣṇavism in his hand and preach the Chaitanya-cult. We do not however disbelieve that Chaitanya saw Gopāla Bhatta in the Deccan. If he did so it was of so slight and trifling interest that Govinda did not think it worth while to notice it in his account. Indeed people outside the pale of the Vaiṣṇavas did not credit the story, as will be observed from the following incidental references to it by Narahari Chakravarti in his *Bhaktiratnākara*.

"When the Master was travelling in the Deccan he stayed in the house of Benkata Bhatta for four months. The author of *Chaitanya Charitamṛta* did not mention it in the account of the Master's tour there. There is a mention of Chaitanya's visit to Benkata Bhatta's house but not of his stay there for four months."

And again "As Chaitanya's stay at Bhattachārī for four months has not been mentioned in any authoritative works, incredulous people do not seem to be willing to accept the account as true."<sup>1</sup>

The *Gaurpada Taranginī* says that Gopāla Bhatta was 30 years old when Chaitanya visited the Deccan. We all know that Gopāla Bhatta

<sup>1</sup> The *Bhakti Ratnākara* 1st Taranga.

was born in 1503 and Chaitanya toured in the Deccan during 1510-1511. So from whatever point the tradition is assailed it proves weak and untenable. The *Premavilāsa* first mentioned this unauthenticated tradition invented probably to exaggerate the importance of the already important man Gopāla Bhatta. I dwell on this point at some length because it has been made much of by later Vaiṣṇava biographers. Gopāla Bhatta was the Guru of Črīnivās Achārya—the greatest of the latter-day Vaiṣṇava worthies. Črīnivāsa evinced wonderful faith in his youth. His scholarship and other qualities of the head and heart led him deservedly to a position of the highest eminence in Vaiṣṇava society. After leaving Vṛndāvana, however, he came to Bengal and married at Viṣṇupur where he quietly settled down to a prosperous worldly life, receiving gifts of considerable money and lands from Rājā Vīra Hamvīra of Viṣṇupur who had become his disciple. Črīnivāsa succeeded from a worldly point of view in enlarging the Vaiṣṇava circle, and drawing within its gradually widening boundaries many of the influential members of the Bengal aristocracy. The fame of this leader rang in the ears of the Vaiṣṇavas throughout the country. But when Manohara Dāsa, a native of Viṣṇupur paid a visit to Gopāla Bhatta at Vṛndāvana and spoke of the attainments of Črīnivāsa in glowing terms, Gopāla Bhatta

remained silent for some time and then said "Fallen alas, fallen from his path." The ideal of Gopāla Bhatta was the founding of a spiritual kingdom which does not perish, and not the attainment of worldly success even in the cause of the extension of Vaiṣṇava faith in India.

Gopāla Bhatta with Raghunātha Dāsa—

Raghunātha Bhatta, Rupa, Sanātana and Jīva formed the glorious One of the six apostles.

group of the "Six Goswāmis" whose works possess scriptural authority with the Vaiṣṇava community of Bengal

#### *XV. Vakrecwara Pundit.*

Vakreçvara Pundit was born in Setan. He left Nadiyā and spent a considerable part of his life at Puri as a companion of Chaitanya. It is mentioned in the Chaitanya Chandrodaya Kaumudi by Premadāsa written in çaka 1534 or 1607 A.D., that the dance of Vakreçvara in the Vaiṣṇava procession attracted the attention of Rājā Pratāpa Rudra of Orissa. Gopīnatha Achārya introduced him to the Rājā by saying

that his dancing that his dance in an ecstasy of devotion was almost as perfect as that of Chaitanya himself. Chaitanya Chṛtamrita says :—

ମୋନ ହେ ଭଟ୍ଟ କିଛୁ ନାହି କହେ ଆଏ ।

"ଶଲ୍ଲଂପାଦ ଶଲ୍ଲଂପାଦ କହେ ବାରେ ବାରେ" ॥

“ପ୍ରତ୍ଯେ ମତନ ଯାର ନର୍ତ୍ତନ ହୁଳ୍କର,”

The Chaitanya Chandrodaya

Kaumudi.

"For hours and hours together he could dance without exhaustion, keeping up a continuous flow of animation and emotional interest among the processional party. Chaitanya himself sang when Vakreçwar danced."

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#### *XVI. Gauri Dāsa.*

Gauri Dāsa was a native of Kālnā. He was descended from Varunāchārya of the Mukhati family of Brahmins. His father's name was Kansūri and mother's name Vimalā Devī. He had five brothers of whom Suryadāsa Sarkhel became afterwards a noted figure in the Vaiṣṇava community as Nityānanda married his two daughters Vasudhā and Jāhnavī. It is said that Chaitanya crossed to the other side of the Ganges once, steering the boat himself with an oar. This oar, together with a copy of the Gitā in Chaitanya's own hand-writing was preserved with great care by Gauri Dāsa. In due course they passed into the hands of Hridaya Chaitanya, a disciple of Gauri Dāsa and are now to be seen in the Chaitanya Temple at Kalnā. Gauri Das made images of Chaitanya and Nityananda in Nimba wood during their lifetime. These images which are now worshipped in the temple at Kalnā are said to bear a striking resemblance to those whose likenesses they are;

and many legendary tales are told by the simple village folk about them. One of them runs thus :

The images of Chaitanya and Nityānanda at Kalna.  
When Chaitanya and Nityānanda paid a visit to Gauridāsa at Kalnā in 1510 A.D. the latter was so much impressed and charmed by their presence that he implored them to stay with him at Kalnā as long as he lived. Chaitanya unable to resist his importunities said that he would comply with his request. In the *kirtana* procession at his house that night, Gauridāsa was surprised to find two figures of Chaitanya and two figures of Nityānanda, exactly alike, singing songs in his courtyard. He approached all the four when they said :—

“Keep any two of us and we will stay with you.”

Upon this Gauridāsa caught hold of a pair and they became transformed into Nimba-wood-figures which have since been worshipped in the temple at Kālnā.

#### XVII.—Paramānanda Sen (*Kavikarṇapūra*.)

Paramānanda Sen, who was afterwards distinguished as ‘Kavikarṇapūra’ or ‘the ear ornament of poets,’ was born in the 1528 at Kānchrāpāra, a village 28 miles to the North of Caleutta. This village was once a celebrated seat of scholars, and stories of wonderful physical strength

of its inhabitants in olden times are still related in the neighbouring locality. Here a Vaidika Brahmin named Bachārama Adhikarī, possessed of herculean strength, is said to have removed unaided a big palm tree that lay obstructing the passage of the women to the landing *ghat* of the Ganges. The story of his gallant feat is still narrated enthusiastically by the people of the locality. It is also said that a youth of this village was once caught by a crocodile in the Ganges, whereupon his companions swam across the river and succeeded in drawing the crocodile by force to the bank with its victim who revived. In this village stands the celebrated temple of Kṛṣṇa Raya, the god established by Sivānanda Sen, the father of our poet. This temple was re-built in 1785 A.D. when the one, founded by Kachu Ray of Jessore for the deity in the 16th century, had sunk in the bed of the Ganges. The cost of building the present temple was one lakh of Rupees which was borne by Nimbācharana Mallik and Gauracharana Mallik of Calcutta. It is one of the most artistic temples that adorn the Gangetic valley; on account of its lying in an almost deserted village, it has not yet attracted the notice of the critics of Indian art. The inscription on the pedestal of the image runs as follows :

“স্মিতি শ্রীকৃষ্ণ দেবায় প্রাদুরাসীৎ স্ময়ং কল্লো ।  
অনুগ্রহায় দ্বিজঃ শ্রীয়ঃ শ্রীনাথ সংজ্ঞকঃ ॥”

The temple. The name of his Guru Čāṇḍī Achārya. Sivānanda belonged to the physician caste and was one of Chaitanya's respected friends. It is said that Paramānanda, his son, displayed poetical powers from a very early age and received the title of 'Kavikarṇapūra' from Chaitanya himself. The Chaitanya Chandrodaya written by our poet is a master-piece of Mediaeval Sanskrit dramatic literature. It was completed by Kavikarṇapūra in the year 1568 A.D. I give below a free rendering of the preliminary portion of this work :

"Look! here, and behold the god Purusottama who looks dark as collyrium, or the blue-tinted emerald on this sea coast, or like the Tamala-trees of the Nilgiri Hills, or like a proud elephant chained to the immortal fig-tree the 'Akshaya Bata.' The great god will shortly march in his Car-journey, and the ceremony has drawn an immense multitude whose exclamations of "Victory to the Lord" have now filled the whole air's space.

"In the height of spiritual ecstasy these people have forgot their caste-distinctions, and the Brahmins and Sūdras have joined their voices in singing the praises of God.

"The gleeful exclamations of the women, whose voices are musical like those of the nymphs presiding over the ten directions, are echoed

afar. On the other side, hark to the solemn song of the taber and of the trumpet and the shrill sounding bugle. These have raised a mingled noise which has well-nigh deafened the ear drowning the voices of the great crowd.

“At this moment, the great king Pratāpa Rudra, the custodian of the temple of Jagannātha, approaches with slow pensive steps, his mind full of gloom, for Chaitanya has just passed away from this world.

An extract from  
the Chaitanya  
Chandrodaya.

It is the mind that lends its colour to the sorroundings. The joyous shouts of the multitude do not produce any effect on the unhappy king. A few moments after, the King addressed me and said :—

“Oh thou master player, there stands resplendent as ever the great God of the Nīlgiri Hills ; the pompous ceremony of his Car-journey is as grand now as ever it was. Look there and behold the pilgrims coming from all directions as on previous occasions. They await with reverence the forthcoming religous festivities. This garden in the precincts of the temple-courtyard is even more beautiful than paradise. But in my eyes there is a void in all that I see, because Chaitanya has left us.

“Dost thou give me some comfort by playing a drama in which the heavenly life of that prince of ascetics—that very soul of love—Chaitanya may be the fitting subject.”

In the above prologue the author states that the drama was written by the order of and played before the king Prātapa Rudra.

Some modern writers have confounded this Paramānanda Sen whose title is Kavikarṇapūr, with Paramānanda Puri. This is a serious mistake as the latter was an elderly ascetic of Tirhut, much respected by Chaitanya himself, whereas the former (Kavikarṇapūr) was a mere child when Chaitanya saw him at Puri and prophesied his future greatness.

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### *XVIII.—Raghunatha Dāsa.*

In the history of the Vaiṣṇava apostles who gathered round Chaitanya there is perhaps no one who deserves such prominent notice as Raghunātha Das, born in the year 1498 at the village of Chandpur within the jurisdiction of the old town of Saptagrāma.

Saptagrāma, probably the '*Ganja regia*' of the Romans, was at that time a most flourishing town in Bengal. It was the capital of a Mahomedan General who ruled lower Bengal under the Emperor of Gaur. It consisted of seven wards, named after seven princely saints—

sons of an ancient Hindu king of  
Saptagrāma. Kanauj, who had in pre-historic  
times conquered Bengal. Saptagrāma in those  
days was the residence of a large number of

Europeans whose ships lay anchored on the river Saraswati, laden with merchandise. This river meeting the Ganges and Jumna at Triveni branched off a short way down, and flowed in a semi-circular course by Saptagrāma and met the Ganges again near Alipur. The Saraswati is now a dead river and the great commercial activity which once marked its course is a matter of interest merely to the students of antiquity. It was the most important port for sea-going vessels in Bengal during the Mahomedan times, and when it fell into decadence owing to various causes, the chief of which was the silting up of the river Saraswati, Chittagong rose to distinction as a seaport, though it could never equal even faintly the historic glory of the older town, as far as her political importance and great economic resources were concerned. A Bengali poet of the 17th Century who had visited all the important towns of India of his times describes Saptagrāma to be one of the greatest of them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kṛṣṇa Rāma, who wrote a poem in honour of Saṣṭhi Devī in 1687 A.D., makes the following mention of Saptagrama:-

“ রাঢ় বঙ্গ দেখিলাম কলিঙ্গ মেপাল ।  
 ধ্যা পটুরাগ (প্রয়াগ) দেখিলাম নিরাদ কাপল ॥  
 একে একে ভূমণ করিলাম দেশ দেশ ।  
 দেখিলু দেবীর পূজা আশৰ বিশেষ ॥  
 সপ্তগ্রাম দেখিলাম নাহি তার তুল !  
 চালে চালে টৈকে লোক ভাগিরথী কুল ॥

The Mahomedan Governor of the town was so powerful that he frequently revolted against the Emperor of Gaur, and the revenue of the place could not be recovered without sanguinary skirmishes. This made the Emperor do away with the Governorship, and lease the town and its adjoining villages to two influential Kāyastha Chiefs, Hiranya and Govardhana. The condition was that they should pay a revenue of 12 lakhs of rupees a year, and the Emperor would not interfere with the internal administration of the district. Under this new arrangement, the annual income from the land alone rose to 20 Hiranya and lakhs, besides which the taxes Govardhana. on the exports and imports—were a source of considerable additional income to the brothers, Hiranya and Govardhana; so that they held a very important position amongst the aristocracy of Eastern India. I need scarcely remind my readers that the value of money was much higher in the 16th Century than it is now.

Both Hiranya and Govardhana were well versed in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, and their court was a favourite resort of distinguished scholars. In the ‘Sangit Mādhava’ a work by Govinda Dāsa, the famous Vaiṣṇava poet of the 16th Century, there is a line which says: “If you seek a really charitable man in Bengal where can you find one greater than Govardhana and

if you seek a true poet where can you find one better than Damodar of Srikhanda."<sup>1</sup>

So the brothers had a reputation not only as scholars, but as honest god-fearing men who gave much in charity and lived in the spiritual environment of the Bengal of those days. Nīlāmvara Chakravartī, grandfather of Chaitanya, was a great friend of the two brothers, and Chaitanya himself in his childhood used to call them uncles, though they were Kāyastha by caste and he a Brahmin.

Hiran̄ya had no children and Govardhana had an only son Raghunātha Dāsa—the idol of the family, and sole heir to their vast property.

In his childhood Raghunātha received his education in Sanskrit from one Valarāma Achārya, a native of Chandpur. Valarāma Achārya was a devout Vaiṣṇava, and Raghunātha had a spiritual training under this excellent man. It happened at this time that Haridāsa, the Mahomedan convert to Vaiṣṇavism, paid a visit to Valarāma Achārya and stayed with him for seven or eight days at Chāndpur. A world was revealed to young Raghunātha of which he had already obtained only glimpses from the Early spiritual training. He saw in Haridāsa, the fulfilment of the best ideal of a man. He was passionless, sweet

গোড়ে গোবর্কনো দাতা খণ্ডে দামোদরঃ কবিঃ ।

*Sangīta Madhava.*

and resigned to God, full of piety and tenderness and with an overflowing devotion which the more the boy saw he admired the more, and when Haridāsa went away, Raghunātha saw the world in a new light —reading the mercy of God every where and striving for the good of all.

Valarāma Achārya used to pay his visit to Hiranya and Govardhana every day; for he was their family priest as well; and when he spoke of the little incidents of Haridāsa's life to the brothers, Raghunātha heard them with rapt attention and was all tears in admiration. In January 1510 the report that Chaitanya left Nadiyā for good and turned a Sannyasi spread throughout the country, and created a great feeling amongst all classes of men. It was the constant topic of conversation and as elsewhere, it was discussed in the court of the brothers who were full of admiring love for Chaitanya. But the news impressed Raghunātha most of all, and he longed to see one, who, it was said, had seen the Unseen and was mad with joy. Chaitanya, after his Samyās, paid a visit to Advaita at Sāntipur. It must have been towards the end of January, 1510. Raghunātha asked per-

Interview with Chaitanya. mission to see the Master, and he was accordingly sent there with a number of escorts by his father and uncle who never suspected that this interview would

be fraught with consequences which would mar their worldly comfort for ever.

The interview broke the chord which attached him to family life. It revealed to him the wonders of the spiritual world. It maddened and completely transformed him. It also appeared that he too had seen the Unseen. He stayed at Sāntipur with the Master for four or five days. Chaitanya left Sāntipur and started for Puri. Raghunātha, it is mentioned in the Kadha by Govinda Dāsa, met him again on the banks of Suvarnarekhā near Hṛīharpur, but had to come back to Saptagrama at the bidding of his father and uncle.

They saw in him a completely changed lad. The very name of Chaitanya, uttered before him, brought tears to his eyes. He fasted and repeated the name of God and said to all that the worldly life was miserable. He wanted all passions to be at rest and the joy of union with God to be the sole aim of mankind. The two chiefs were now alarmed that what they had allowed to grow unchecked might now prove dangerous. Raghunātha might renounce the world and turn a *Sannyāsi*.

As time passed the lad's anguish of soul and desire to meet Chaitanya increased and the Chiefs felt it

The necessity of applying force

advisable to use stronger means

to keep him at home. They accordingly appointed five soldiers, four servants and two Brahmins to be his constant attendants. The two Brahmins were to teach him the sacredness of family-ties and obedience to parents and superiors. It was unavailing. A greater force than that of family-ties was tugging at his heart.

Five years passed in this way and in 1515 Chaitanya again paid a visit to Sāntipur on his way to Rāmakeli, near Gaur. Raghunātha said to his father that if he were not permitted to see Chaitanya, he would fast and die, and Govardhana really feared from what he saw of the boy, that this might really happen. So he

He meets Chaitanya again. sent him to Sāntipur with a strong body of armed men.

Raghunātha was beside himself with joy and meeting Chaitanya fell at his feet and wept. The accumulated grief of his soul found expression in his tears, for he had never enjoyed unbroken sleep, nor eaten regular meals for these five years, owing to his intense desire to see the Master. Chaitanya read the boy's heart, but his attitude was one of austerity, verging on rudeness. He said :

"Quiet your mind, return home and do not act like a mad man. It is by slow degrees that a man outgrows his family-ties. Do not show morbid sentiments in imitation of others, before

spirituality has really grown in you. Go and lead the ordinary life of the world. Be not attached to it and let faith grow in your heart. But outwardly do as other worldly men do and you will find that God will help and save you in no distant future."

Raghunātha went back home a thoroughly changed man. He began to supervise the affairs of the Estate and did what his father and uncle bade him to do. In order to keep him attached to home-life, Govardhana had already married him to a girl whose beauty was unequalled in the country, and Raghunātha was kind to her. It was a delight and surprise to the Chiefs to find him so completely changed, but this was a mere outward garb, for Raghunātha followed Chaitanya's instructions to the letter. He did not make any outward display of faith, only that it might grow the more. He mixed with the world and did his duties unattached ; for he had dedicated himself to God, and to Chaitanya who had shown him the gates of heaven.

A calamity overtook the family about the year 1516. The ex-governor of Saptagrāma, a

ଶ୍ରୀ ହକ୍କା ଧରେ ଯାତ୍ରା ନା ହୁଏ ବାହୁଦିଲ ।  
କମେ କ୍ରମେ ପାଯେ ଲୋକ ତବ ନିଷ୍ଠୁ କୁଳ ॥  
ମକ୍ଟେ ବୈବାହା ନା କର ଲୋକ ଦେଖାଇୟା ।  
ସମ୍ମାନେ ବିଷ୍ୟ ଡୁଲ୍ଲ ଅନାଶ୍ରେ ହୈଥା ॥ ୩୮ ॥

Turk, had a well-founded grudge against Hiranya and Govardhana, for they had usurped his possessions. This man, formerly hostile to the Emperor of Gauḍa, now ingratiated himself into his confidence, and inflamed him by many false reports against the brothers. He was informed

*The Emperor's  
oppression.*

that though they paid only 12 laks a year to the Royal treasury, their collection was immensely greater and that His Majesty was a great loser by granting them the lease. Moreover they had grown very powerful and might prove dangerous at any moment.

Now at a time when Govardhana was away, the king sent a large body of soldiers to arrest the chiefs. Hiranya fled, without being able to induce Raghunātha to join him. The latter was found by the Emperor's soldiers quietly doing the duties of his office as usual. He offered no resistance and silently accompanied the army to Gauḍa. On being produced before the king he was required to divulge where his uncle and father were hiding. Raghunātha, as was really the case, pleaded ignorance, upon which the king ordered him to be tortured till he gave the information. Raghunātha meekly said :

“ Your Majesty saw me as a child and I remember the day when you addressed my father and uncle as brothers. Nothing has since happened to cause this change of attitude in your

Majesty. May I not claim the right of an affectionate treatment at your hands such as a nephew may expect. Your Majesty is my Master and I resign myself to you. Is it not your duty to protect my interest even as a father does of his child ? Your Majesty has the reputation of being versed in the scriptures and is moreover known to be a pious man. What should I say more ? ”

The emotion and sweetness with which the young Raghunātha delivered himself, made a deep impression on the Emperor. For Raghu had an unspotted life dedicated to God. His countenance reflected the purity of his heart, and his words were sweet.

Chaitanya Charitāmṛta says that the Emperor melted into tears at this address and they fell over his long flowing beard. His Majesty said :

“ From to-day you are my god-son. I release  
A reconciliation. you to-day. I have only one thing  
 to add. Your uncle Hiranya enjoys more than 8 laks a year. I am his partner ; it is only fair that he should give me something more. Go home and do so that he may meet me. Let him do what is but fair. I leave it to him entirely.”<sup>1</sup>

এত শুনি সেই.....মন আস' হৈল।  
 দাঢ়ি বহি অশ্ব পড়ে কান্দিতে লাগিল।  
 সেই বলে আজ হইতে তুমি মোর পুত্র  
 ছোড়াইব তোমা করি এক শৃত।

Raghunātha went back and induced his uncle to meet the Emperor, and an amicable settlement was the result.

It was about this time that Nityānanda paid a visit to Pāñihāti, a village four miles to the North of Calcutta.  
Nityananda's visit to Pāñihāti.

The Saṅkīrtana party mustered in strength around the apostle. He resided at the house of Rāghava, which became, as it were, a sacred place for the time. Hundreds of people gathered there, and it seemed as though the material world had vanished and the spiritual one had opened its gates for all. Night and day God was praised "with the timbrel and dance and the high sounding cymbals" and songs of great spiritual beauty were composed and sung. At Pāñihāti Nityānanda stayed for three months and the author of Chaitanya Bhāgavata says that he turned the very tide of the life of people there during this time. Raghunātha heard of all that transpired there from Saptagrāma which was not very far from Pāñihāti. He asked the permission of his father to go there. Both he and his uncle agreed to his request this time,

ଉଜିରେ କହିଯା ରଘୁନାଥେ ଛୋଡ଼ାଇଲ ।  
 ପ୍ରୀତି କରି ରଘୁନାଥେ କହିତେ ଲାଗିଲ ॥  
 ତୋମାର ଜୋଟି ବୁଦ୍ଧି ଅଷ୍ଟ ଲକ୍ଷ ଥାଏ ।  
 ଆମି ଭାଗୀ ଆମାରେ କିଛୁ ଦିବାର ନା ସୋରାୟ ॥  
 ଯାହ ତୁମି ତୋମାର ଜୋଟି ଖିଳାଇ ଆମାରେ ।  
 ଯେ ମତେ ଭାଲ ହୁଏ କରନ ମେ ଭାର ତୋରେ ॥

for their suspicions had been almost lulled by the outwardly mundane life which Raghunātha had led all this time.

Nityānanda sat on a brick-built seat beneath a large fig tree, which still exists, looking like a true messenger of God. When Raghunātha met him, Nityānanda said,

“Thou dessembler, I shall give thee a punishment”<sup>1</sup>

“Dessembler” because he affected worldly life, while at heart he was an ascetic. Nityānanda added

“You shall give a feast to the people here, and that shall be your proper punishment.”

This good-humoured joke was taken in earnest, and Raghunātha made extensive preparations for feeding sumptuously the vast multitude that had gathered at Pāñihāti. He must have spent a large amount of money over it; for, at the end of the feast, he sent to Nityānanda’s home a hundred Rupees and seven *tolas* of gold, this of course without Nityānanda’s knowledge. Raghunātha gave one hundred Rupees with two *tolas* of gold to Rāghava Paṇḍit at whose house Nityānanda stayed. Besides this he gave to

<sup>“The Danda  
Mahotsava.”</sup>

‘‘শুনি প্রভু কহে চোরা দিলি দরশন  
আয় আয় আজি তোরে করিব দণ্ডন।’’

innumerable people of more or less note that had assembled there from Rs. 20 to Rs. 2 each according to their merit. This festivity is known amongst the Vaiṣṇavas as the “Dāṇḍa Mahotsava” or the festivity of punishment. The anniversary of this festivity is held with great pomp up to this day at Pāñibāṭī on the 13th day of the bright moon in the month of Jaiṣṭha (May-June).<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the festivity Raghunātha had a private interview with Nityānanda and touching his feet gently said :

“ Fondly have I cherished the hope of surrendering myself to Chaitanya. This has proved like the dwarf aspiring to catch the moon. I am a great sinner; how may I expect to be admitted to the heaven of his presence! I tried several times; but each time I fled, the men set by my parents caught hold of me and brought me back by force. Now bless me, revered sir, that I may succeed in my attempts and meet the Master.” And Nityānanda laid his hand on Raghunātha’s head and silently blessed.

After this Raghu came back to Saptagrāma. This time his old sentiment which had been kept hidden from his people manifested itself once

<sup>1</sup> Accounts of this festivity are to be found in almost all the standard biographies of the Vaiṣṇavas of this period particularly in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Antya Khaṇḍa, Ch. VI.

again. He tried again and again to escape from the palace but a strong body of guards was appointed to keep watch over his movements. They found him out every time he attempted to escape. He did not visit his wife, but slept on the bare floor in the courtyard of the temple attached to the palace. He no longer attended the affairs of the State and silently wept remembering Chaitanya of whom he dreamt in his sleep and thought all day. Alarmed at the frequent attempts of her son to leave home, his anxious mother had said once to her husband :

“I wish he could be kept bound to a pillar  
with a rope. Possibly he may  
escape the guards some day.”

The sorrowful father replied :

“The attractions of a treasure, vast as an emperor’s, the beauty of his wife like a celestial nymph cannot bind him to this home of ours, do you think a slender rope will do it?”

It was the month of July, 1517, the time of the great Car-festivity of Jagannātha, when the people of Bengal, especially those of Nadiyā, used to pay their annual visit to Chaitanya at Puri. They made preparations for the journey. An opportunity occurred to Raghunātha at this time to renounce home for ever.

“ইন্ত সম ঐশ্যা, শ্রী অপরাম, এ সব বাঁধিতে নারিল যার মন,  
দণ্ড বকনে তারে বাঁধিব কেমনে !”

Jadunandana Āchārya, the spiritual head of the family of Hiranya and Govarddhana, called on Raghunātha at about 4 A.M. of a July morning. The latter was in the courtyard of the temple within the palace, a strong body of guards keeping watch over him. Jadunandana wanted Raghunātha to mediate on his behalf with his family-priest who had quarrelled

His flight with him. In the morning the priest's service would be required at his home for worship. Raghunātha gladly undertook to induce the priest to perform the worship as usual, and accompanied Jadunandana to his home. The guards had implicit confidence in one who was the *Guru* of the house and did not object to Raghunātha's accompanying him. As soon as he got out of the palace he told Jadunandana that he would visit the priest himself. It was not necessary for the *Guru* to be with him. The simple-minded Brāhmaṇ took him at his word and Raghunātha after having paid a visit to the priest and extracting a promise from him to continue his religious duties at the house of Jadunandana, fled away as fast as his legs could carry him.

In the morning, the guards went to the house of *Guru* to enquire about Raghunātha, and he was astonished to hear that Raghu had not gone back to the palace. In a moment the whole city was astir searching for the absconder.

Govarddhana thought that as the people of Nadiyā were then about to start for Puri to meet Chaitanya, Raghunātha had doubtless joined them. So he sent ten horsemen to make enquiries with a letter addressed to Čivānanda Sen, father of the famous Kavikarṇapura, of whom we have spoken in our previous lecture.

Čivānanda Sen was a venerable man and a great friend of Govarddhana Dāsa ; he was besides the leader elect of the pilgrims bound for Puri. Govarddhana wrote in the letter that his son had turned mad for love of Chaitanya. He was the only child in the family. His wife was young and was deeply distressed. If he could not be made to return, it would blast their happiness for ever.

The ten horsemen returned in due course with a reply from Čivānanda Sen saying that Raghunātha had not joined the pilgrims. Men were sent to places far and near. But nowhere was he to be found. Where had he gone then ?

It was the march of a soul, deep drunk with inward joy, to meet the object  
 The fruitless search. of his love. Nothing could deter it; no obstruction was unsurmountable, no risk too great. Raghunātha was going to a heaven of bliss. What matter that hardships had to be undergone? He followed those paths which no one had trodden before. Through jungles and deserted villages he

walked on and on, bare footed. He walked 30 miles on the first day towards the east and spent the night in a cowshed. In the morning he turned to the south and reached a village named Yātrabhoga. Thence he came westward to Saran. In 12 days he reached Puri. During these days he had but three meals. The body fasted but the spirit feasted on the joy of the prospect of meeting the Master.

Chaitanya was at the house of Kāgī Miśra at Puri. Some of his companions were near him and Mukunda Datta was the first amongst them to see Raghu approaching from afar. He cried aloud pointing with his finger :—“Look there, Raghu, our beloved Raghu has come, how emaciated does he look ?”

Meets Chaitanya. Chaitanya called him to his presence and Raghu humbly touched his feet and bursting into tears said :

“ Much have I suffered, my Master. Sinner as I am, do not leave me this time. I am too humble, but yet yearn for your grace.”

Chaitanya embraced him affectionately and asked Govinda, the servant of the house, to prepare a good meal, saying, “ Surely he has not tasted any proper food during his long journey.”

Raghu was served with substantial food for 5 days, but on the 6th he said that he would

touch nothing rich. ‘It serves’, he said, ‘to nourish my physical life; but my spiritual vision grows less.’ From that time forward he used to stand for a couple of hours at the gate of the great temple of Purī every evening and the pilgrims gave him alms without his seeking. They gave him a handful of bread or rice not knowing that he was a prince, and often it so happened that he got nothing from them, and then he gladly fasted. He received regular instructions from Svarūpa Dāmodara whom Chaitanya had appointed to teach him the tenets of Vaiṣṇava scriptures and instruct him in those practical ways by which the realization of God is brought to man.

Ragunātha’s reverence for Chaitanya was so great that for a few years he would not venture to speak to him direct. What he had to say to the Master, he said to Govinda or Svarūpa Dāmodara who communicated it to him.

One day Svarūpa told to Chaitanya that Raghunātha wanted to receive instructions directly from him.  
Direct instructions.

He would not speak out his great wish at first for shyness. And when he did so at last he feared lest he might be considered too forward. Chaitanya called Raghu to his presence and said :

“Svarūpa Dāmodara knows the Vaiṣṇava theology and the rules of monastic life better

than I do. For you know I have always rather followed my own natural inclinations. That is why I entrusted your training to this worthy man. But should you still care to learn from me, follow these instructions :

“ Do not listen to gossip, do not seek honour for yourself but give it freely to others. Have your mind fixed on God. Consider yourself humbler than the grass you tread upon. Live upon spare diet and have humble clothing. Be patient as a tree.”<sup>1</sup>

About the qualities to be learnt from the tree, Chaitanya had once said to Svarūpa Dāmodara and Rāmānanda Rāya :—

“ The tree does not complain against him who cuts it to pieces. Though its sap dries within

ପ୍ରତ୍ଯେ ଆଗେ କଥା ମାତ୍ର ନା କହେ ରଘୁନାଥ ।  
 ସ୍ଵରୂପ ଗୋବିଳ ଦାରୀ କହେ ନିଜ ବାଟ ॥  
 ପ୍ରତ୍ଯେ ଆଗେ ସ୍ଵରୂପ ନିବେଦନ ଆର ଦିନେ ।  
 ରଘୁନାଥ ନିବେଦୟେ ପ୍ରତ୍ଯେ ଚରଣେ ॥  
 କି ମୋର କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ ମୃଞ୍ଜ ନା ଜାନି ଉପଦେଶ ।  
 ଆପନ ଶ୍ରୀମୁଖେ ମୋର କରୁନ ଉପଦେଶ ॥  
 ହାସି ମହାପ୍ରଭୁ ରଘୁନାଥେରେ କହିଲ ।  
 ତୋମାର ଉପଦେଷ୍ଟା କରେ ସରପେରେ ଦିଲ ॥  
 ସାଧ୍ୟ ସାଧନ ତତ୍ତ୍ଵ ଶିକ୍ଷ ଇହାର ସ୍ଥାନେ ।  
 ଆମି ଯତ ନାହି ଜାନି ଇହ ତତ ଜାନେ ॥  
 ତଥାପି ଆମାର ଆଜ୍ଞାୟ ଯଦି ଶକ୍ତା ହୟ ।  
 ଆମାର ଏହ ବାକ୍ୟେ ତୁମି କରିଛ ନିଶ୍ଚୟ ॥  
 ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ କଥା ନା ଶୁଣିବେ ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ବାର୍ତ୍ତା ନା କହିବେ ।  
 ଭାଲ ନା ଥାଇବେ ଆର ଭାଲ ନା ପରିବେ ॥  
 “ତୃଣାଦ୍ରପି ଶୁନୀଚେନ ତହୋରିବ ସହିଷ୍ଣୁତା ।  
 ଅମାନିନା ମାନଦେନ କୀର୍ତ୍ତଣୀୟ ମଦା ହରିଃ ॥”

Chaitanya Charitānīta, Antya Khaṇḍa, Ch. VI.

it, it does not ask a drop of water from any one. It gives freely all its treasure to those who seek it. Exposed to the heat of the sun in the summer and to the rains, it gives shelter to others.”<sup>1</sup>

These instructions, it should be understood, were meant for those who had broken their family-connection, and turned ascetics devoting themselves to universal good and having a brotherly ideal before them. They could not be followed by lay men to their fullest extent.

The grief of Govarddhana Dāsa and his family at Saptagrāma at Raghunātha’s continued absence was great. They had sent men in quest of the missing Raghunātha all over the country and even to Purī. Čivānanda Sen had in the meantime returned from Purī with other pilgrims and Govarddhana again sent men to him enquiring whether he had seen Raghunātha there with Chaitanya. Čivānanda said :

“ Yes, he is there with the Master. The faith he has shown is great and he has already become a noted man there. Chaitanya has made Govarddhana sends him money. over the charge of his spiritual training to Svarūpa, and all the companions of the Master hold him dear as their lives. Day and night he repeats the name of God and scarcely leaves the presence of

<sup>1</sup> See Chaitanya Charitāmṛta Antya Khaṇḍa.

Chaitanya. A true ascetic is he, caring neither for food nor clothing. At 10 O'clock in the night he stands at the main gate of the temple of Jagannātha and the pilgrims give him some scraps on which he lives. If they give him nothing, he fasts. Many are the days in the month when he fasts, at other times he lives upon whatever chance brings him.”<sup>1</sup>

Govarddhana's heart melted in unbounded compassion for the poor child, and night and day he wept and was sad. He sent two Brāhmaṇas and a servant with Rs. 400 to Puri, hoping that Raghunātha might be induced to accept the small offer for his personal comforts. Raghunātha said to them :

“A thousand times do I bow to my parents. Give them this message that I pray for their blessing in order to attain a spiritual life. I was not born for food and clothing. If I attend

<sup>1</sup> शिवानन्द कहे तिहो हय अचुर छाने ।  
परम बिग्यात तिहो केबा नाहि जाने ॥  
म्बजपेर छाने तारे करियाछे समर्पण ।  
प्रभुर भक्तगणेर तिहो हय प्राणसम ॥  
रात्रि दिन करे तिहो नाम सक्षीर्तन ।  
क्षणमात्र नाहि छाडे प्रभुर चरण ॥  
परम बैरागी नाहि भक्ष परिजन ।  
जैছे तैছे आहार करि राखये जीवन ॥  
दशदण रात्रि गेले पुस्पाञ्जलि दिया ।  
सिंहधारे थाड़ा हय आहार लागिया ॥  
केह यदि देय तबे करये भक्षण ।  
कत्तु उपवास कत्तु करेन चर्कन ॥

to material comforts, the vision within me grows less bright. I cannot bear it. My only care is to keep it clear. For the satisfaction of my father I will accept a small portion of the money, not for myself, but to serve my Master. You may return home now."

As he would not touch any money with his own hand, they did not go back but stayed at Puri. Twice in a month Raghunātha took a small amount from this money and invited and entertained Chaitanya with it in a very humble way, the two meals that he gave to the Master each month, costing him only 8 *pans* of *kandis* something like 2 annas. For two years Raghunātha continued inviting Chaitanya to this humble repast, but at the end of two years he discontinued it. A month passed and Chaitanya did not receive any invitation from Raghunātha and when the next month passed also Chaitanya asked Svarūpa :—‘Why is it that Raghu does not invite us any more?’ Svarūpa told the Master that Raghu would not further accept any money from a worldly man. This could not, he was convinced, give any satisfaction to the Master, though the latter accepted the invitation for the sake of mere courtesy; so he had dispensed with it. Chaitanya said: “Raghu has understood aright. It is even so; acceptance of a gift from a rich man makes the life of an ascetic

He no more invites Chaitanya to dinner.

poor spiritually. It spots his clear vision of God.”<sup>1</sup>

Chaitanya however made enquiries of Svarūpa about the physical needs of Raghunātha, though he did not like any one to make any provision for him. A sannyāsi must absolutely resign himself to God, without thinking of the morrow. Whatever Raghunātha did, he did with an inward strength and joy, which raised him above all human compassion. Through his spiritual and physical needs, however, the mother-like eyes of the Master followed him at every step watching with keen interest his progress in spiritual life.

Chaitanya one day heard that Raghu no longer stood at the gate of the Temple for alms, but he gathered a handful of scraps and rice thrown outside the courtyard of the Temple, which he washed carefully, and took with a little salt. Yet he was as cheerful as ever.

Thus did Raghunātha spend 16 years of his life at Purī. He came there when he was only 19, and now at his 35th year, Chaitanya passed away from this world. Raghunātha had once said to Chaitanya :

“Of what other God you speak to me, Master? You are my God.”

<sup>1</sup> ଶୁଣି ମହାପ୍ରଭୁ ହାନି ସଲିତେ ଲାଗିଲ ॥

ନିଷୟୀର ଅନ୍ନ ପହିଲେ ମଲିନ ହୟ ମନ ।

ମଲିନ ମନ ହଲେ ନା ହୟ କୃକ୍ଷେର ଆରଣ ॥

When the great calamity took place, Rājā Pratāpa Rudra who had already made over the helm of administration, and all marks of royalty to his son, retired from Puri to village-life in deep sorrow and spent his remaining days in calling to mind the incidents of Chaitanya's life.

Many of Chaitanya's companions left Puri; for, they had not seen God in the image of the Temple there so much as in the Man before them, and their grief was now overwhelming. Raghunātha carried the stone which Chaitanya had given him for worship together with a string of sacred Goonja-beads to Vṛndāvana, and at the moment of worship he bathed them every day with his tears, remembering the kindness of their giver.

Raghunātha lived till a good old age dying in his 86th year in 1584 A.D.  
His last moments. His last hours are thus described in the Padakalpataru:

"On the bank of the Rādhā Kunda he lay breathing heavily. He could speak no word, and his closed eyes shed a few drops of tears indicative of the joy of union with Kṛṣṇa."

Raghunātha's name is inseparably associated with those of Rūpa and Sanātana, who had become his most intimate friends at Vṛndāvana. There the ascetic-prince earned the admiring love and esteem of the Brajabāsīs by his faith and pure unspotted life. He wrote many

Sanskrit works which will be enumerated below. He was innocent and simple as a child. And his sinless mind mirrored in its unsullied transparency the glories of a true spiritual life.

In the last part of life he lived upon whey only and often slept under the canopy of the sky which showed him far greater splendour than the ornamental roof studded with jewels of his father's palace at Saptagrāma.

Some of the songs on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa that he composed contain invocations to Tuṅgadevī, Rāṅgadevī, Lalitā, Bisakhā and other Gopis of Vṛndāvana to teach him how to decorate the God whose vision he saw ; for they were finished mistresses of the art. In one of them he addresses the Deity saying,

“I am thine—I am thine alone for ever.  
Take me to thyself.”

This was a short time before his death. One of his constant companions in the latter part of his life was the venerable Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja who was inspired to write his Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, on hearing an account of the great life of the Master, recited for the most part by Raghunātha. At Vṛndāvana we find him receiving some of the later Vaiṣṇava worthies such as Črīnivāsa and Čyāmānanda with kindness, and paying his respects to Jāhnavī Devī, wife of Nityānanda when she visited the holy city.

He is one of the few Kāyasthas who were admitted to Brāhmaṇhood in the Vaiṣṇava society of Bengal, being recognised as one of the six Gosvāmīs. But to Raghunātha Brāhmaṇs, Kāyasthas and even the lowest castes as Hādīs commanded the same respect. For following the instructions of Chaitanya, he had learnt ‘to respect every living being knowing that the holy God dwelt in every one.’

The routine of Raghunātha’s daily life is given to us by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja  
Routine of his daily life who wrote from intimate personal knowledge. He says :

“The routine of his day he follows to the letter. It is unalterable like curving on stone. For seven and half Prahars (21 hours) he remains plunged in God realization or in recording his spiritual experience. The rest is spent in sleep and in taking his meals. There are days when he does not reserve even these small hours for that purpose. His asceticism is wonderful. He has abstained entirely from rich meal. He dresses himself in rags and carries out the Master’s instructions to the letter.”<sup>1</sup>

If we read the Sanskrit works of Raghunātha, we will find what a fount of joy was in him, inspite of the rigour of his life. If he left home, it was to extend his home, to make the

narrow broad, for his home is not now the palace of Saptagrāma but the hearts of thousands of admirers. If he denied himself the pleasures of life, it was to taste higher joys. In the pages of Indian history he, with Rūpa, Sanātana and another great Vaiṣṇava, whose life will be narrated hereafter, shows the continuity of the line of princely ascetics from the time of the Buddha. It is the same story repeated in the pages of the religious history of our country, of men placed in positions of power and wealth surrendering all, for higher pursuits. We find a parallel of the great asceticism practised by Raghunātha in some of the Catholic saints of Europe, chiefly in the life of St. Catherine of Siena (born 1347 A.D.) of whom it is said :

“At her 12th year she wholly abandoned the use of animal food. At 15 she left off wine. At 23 she gave up bread living only on uncooked vegetables. She used to sleep but one quarter of an hour in the four and twenty. .... She lived 3 years without speaking...And finally remained wholly without food for many years.”<sup>1</sup>

God-realization has not been a matter of speculative discussion in India. Throughout this vast Peninsula the belief is deep-rooted among all classes of people that the human

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ninth edition, Vol V, p. 230) from Father Raimond's life of St. Catherine.

soul can, under a course of training and in some cases by virtue of heredity or accumulated *karma* of past lives, reach the stage in which God may be realised in spirit. One who has attained this blessed condition is like living joy---untouched by the sorrows and worries of the world, having only compassion for those of others. Tailāṅga Svāmī and Bhāṣkarānanda of Benares, Loknātha Brahmachārī of Dacca, and Paramhansa Rāmkṛṣṇa of Dakṣineśvara have, in our own times, evinced in their wonderful lives the attainment of the highest mystic vision. The beauty of their lives and visions permeates the whole atmosphere of India as do the scent of the Sephāli flower make fragrant the air of an autumnal day. The rational view which often sneers at them will be nowhere with us, when life presented before our eyes unfold the beauty of spiritual vision in such a prominent manner. In no case will an Indian be prepared to give up his faith in the Sādhu and his god-realization, in Raghunātha Dāsa and men of his type.

Raghunātha's works. Raghunātha wrote among others the following works in Sanskrit :—

1. Vilāpa Kusumañjalī.
2. Prema Parabidha Stotra.
3. Rādhāṣṭaka.
4. Premāmbhujamaraudakhyā Stotra.
5. Swashankalpaprakāṣṭa Staba.

6. Nāmāṣṭaka.
7. Utkanthadaçaka.
8. Abhiṣṭa Prarthanāṣṭaka.
9. Abhiṣṭasūchana.
10. Çāchinandana Çataka.
11. Çrīgaurāṅgāṣṭavaka Kalpabrikṣa.
12. Nāma Çikṣā.
13. Prārthaṇā.
14. Govardhanāçrayadaçakam.
15. Govardhānadaçakaprarthanādaçakam.

There are 13 more, making 29 in all.

Premāmbhujamaranandakhya Stabarāja by

The subjects treated. Raghunātha Dāsa explains how the trances of a spiritual soul,

perfect in its love for God, show themselves in their glowing poetical manifestation in the character of Rādhā. Her ornaments when she goes to meet Kṛṣṇa, are really the qualities of the soul in deep mystic love. She is represented as bathing in the sweet stream of humility ; next in that of child-like simplicity and then in that of divine grace which lends beauty to her person. She clothes herself with the blue coloured Sādī of her coyness and resignation ; next wears the outer pink robe of her first love, she covers her breast with the bodice of her false anger ; the love of her companions for her is the perfume that surrounds her person ; the subtleness of her ways to gain the heart of the beloved is the collyrium with which she pain's her eyes. Pure

thought from which all earthly attachments have been wiped away is the fount of her joy; the memories of her romantic play with Kṛṣṇa are personified in her maids, and the fortune of her union with Kṛṣṇa is the red sign on her forehead, and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

The spiritualization of the sensual forms makes the great mystic attraction of the Vaiṣṇava literature. Rādhā, as described by the Vaiṣṇava poets, possesses all the sweetness of a lovely mortal, but she is more. True we find her sometimes in a sensual garb but she is always set forth from a highly spiritual back ground—an exalted extra-sensual plane. Chaitanya's love for God, which could not be expressed well without being represented in a material form, latterly came to be emphatically symbolised in the picture of Rādhā drawn by contemporary poets and those who wrote shortly after. His life is the perspective which gives us a closer survey of Vaiṣṇava poetry showing in many of the glowing and inspired lines the transition of emotions from sensual to spiritual. This poetry flows, as it were, through the familiar scenes of human passions into the great sea of mystic love, till we meet what the eye cannot command—the endless and the illimitable. Raghunātha did not write from mere imagination. Before his eyes, the

<sup>1</sup> This allegorical meaning is fully explained in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Karṇāḍa and other works.

Master's great love for God manifested itself in a hundred romantic ways, compared with which Dante's love for Beatrice is mere child's play. Chaitanya was in one of those oceans of joy and sorrow, in the small rivers of which every man and woman struggles more or less for a time in their youth. The life of the Master was a grand epic poem of sweet emotions of which many of us have sung short lyrics in our youth, and which constantly supply the poet's pen with colour and imagery in his romantic works. Raghunātha not only read the great poetry in the Master's life unfolded before his eyes, but himself tasted it by life-long devotion and faith. It is on this account that he gives a mystic explanation of Rādhā's adornments. At every stage he is reminded of what really adorns the soul, not the outward ornaments but the inner ones, what constitutes the chief beauty, not the external form but the qualities of the soul. Rādhā in the Vaiṣṇava poetry represents this heaven of love's ideal.

Raghunātha wrote many poetical pieces in Bengali, some of which will be found in the Pada-kalpataru.

#### *XLIX.—Further notes on Chaitanya.*

Let us now analyse what it was that made Chaitanya the centre of universal admiration in our country. Rūpa, Sanātana and Raghunātha Dāsa

The unique charm  
of Chaitanya's life.

had passed through great hardships and sacrifices for their love of him and so did Hari Dāsa, the Mahomedan convert. What difference is there between their lives and his? Chaitanya did not practise austerities as Raghunātha did. He had no princely fortune to give up for spiritual pursuits, like the first named three amongst his followers. As a Sannyāsī he was not very strict; for he was often taken to task by Dāmodara Pāṇḍit for violating the rules of his Order, and he frankly told Raghunātha that he did not know the details of Vaiṣṇava theology as Svarūpa did. He was no organiser of the Vaiṣṇava community as Nityānanda was. And as a result of it, the descendants of his uncles now living in Sylhet do not enjoy that high position in society which those of Nityānanda, Advaita and even of lesser Vaiṣṇava worthies do at the present time. He was no doubt a great scholar. But scholarship, however lofty, does not make any lasting impression in this country. He wrote no books as his followers did. Why is it then that he is revered as a god by his countrymen and is held in a much higher estimation than others whose great sacrifices in the cause of religion deservedly command the respect and admiration of all.

Other lives, great as some of them no doubt are, represent more or less the struggle of the spiritual soul for the attainment of its final

goal, whereas Chaitanya's life shows not the worry and strife in pursuit of perfection but at once its full blown beauty—its bloom and fragrance. The plant has many worrying experiences and inward struggles before it brings forth the concentrated treasure of its beauty and fragrance in the flower. Those lives show the struggle and worry, but not so much the beauty of mystic vision as Chaitanya's does. The scholars, poets and ascetics gathered round him as the bees gather round the flower; for in him they found a store of that joy which has been figuratively called 'heaven' by all religions.

Wherever he happened to be, the young and old followed—mad after him, as he after his God. "Many gathered the sacred dust trodden by his feet in such quantities that the track of his passage could be followed out over a large stretch of country." Just as the rose in its full bloom attracts the eye, the little thorns of the stalk with which nature protects it, lying almost hidden from our sight, the asceticism practised by Chaitanya which helped to develop his realization of God in the like manner does not strike us so forcibly as is the case in the lives of Raghunātha, Rūpa, Sanātana and Haridāsa. Yet did he practise austerities to keep the flame of his faith burning, though not always in the way required by the scriptures. Jagadānanda, a young scholar, always tried to minister to his personal comforts.

He insisted upon the Master's partaking of something, in however small quantity, of the good food presented to him by his admirers. And when Chaitanya would not, inspite of his importunities, do so, Jagadānanda, deeply aggrieved would fast for the whole day. One day Jagadānanda offered him a pillow; for the

Chaitanya and Master used to sleep on the bare Jagadananda. floor of the temple without one.

Chaitanya was angry. He said "Look here, this lad wants me to enjoy worldly comforts! why not bring a costly couch for me?" One of the *bhaktas* of Eastern Bengal presented Chaitanya with a jar full of scented oil; and Jagadānanda's earnest wish was that the Master would use a little of it at the time of bathing, and with this object he approached him. Chaitanya said "Send this jar to the temple of Jagannātha. There the lights will burn with this oil." The Pāñdit said not a word that day, though he was deeply sorry. The next day at the time when the Master took his bath, Jagadānanda brought before him some oil from the jar. Chaitanya said "I told you, Pāñdit, that I would use none of this. Send the jar to the temple of Jagannātha." And Jagadānanda was very angry; he carried the jar to the courtyard and broke it to pieces and its perfumed contents flowed on the ground. Not content with this, he went to his room and fasted three days.

So that Chaitanya had to go to him and soothe his temper with sweet words. We have seen on p. 42 that Jagadānanda did not at all like the Master to embrace Sañātana when he was afflicted with eczema and advised the latter to leave Puri and go to Vṛndāvana. Chaitanya was very angry with him for this. One of the chief reasons which made him leave Puri for two years, and go to the Deccan is here described in his own words:

“Jagadānanda is determined that I should taste worldly pleasures. Whatever he wants me to do I do for fear, lest he take offence. If I do not do as he wishes, for three days he would not speak to me. Mukunda is sorry at heart because in the winter I bathe three times a day and sleep on the bare earth. It is not the habit of Mukunda to speak out his sorrow but I feel that he is deeply aggrieved. This pains me the more. I am a Sannyāsī, the ascetic Dāmodara always keeps his strict watch over me, warning me at every little violation of the rules of our Holy Order. I do not know how to behave as he wishes me to do. I have so often to suppress my personal impulses for fear of him. He cares only for religion and does not mind what people think. I do not wish to give pain to people. For all these reasons I want to be alone and free for some time. I shall travel visiting

the shrines of India and you, dear friends, must remain here at Puri.”<sup>1</sup>

The importunate entreaties of Nityānanda and other friends who wanted to accompany him, did not shake his determination of travelling alone.

The world vainly tried to win him to glory.  
The world often tried to seduce him by praise and worldly fame. But as often did he shake off these from him as a traveller does the drops of rain from his cloak. We find that at the report of his intended visit to Vṛndāvana, Pradyumna Miśra (*alias* Nṛsinhānanda) placed his whole property at the service of Chaitanya for beautifying and improving the roads. The road from Kuliā to Kānairnatçālā, extending over a distance of

‘ জগদানন্দ চাহে আমার বিষয় ভুঁঁইতে ;  
গেই কহে সেই ভয়ে চাহিয়ে করিতে ॥  
কভু যদি ইহার বাক্য করিয়ে অন্ধা ।  
কোথে তিনি দিন মোরে নাহি কহে কথা ॥  
মৃক্তল হয়েন দুঃখী দেখি সরাম ধৰ্ম ।  
তিনি বার শীতে স্বান ভূমিতে শয়ন ॥  
অশ্বের দুখ দেখি মোরে বিগুণ হয়ে দুঃখে ॥  
ইহার দুখ দেখি মোরে বিগুণ হয়ে দুঃখে ॥  
আমিত সরামী দামোদর ব্ৰহ্মচাৰী ।  
সদা রহে আমার উপৰ শিক্ষা দণ্ড ধৰি ॥  
ইহারে ভাগে আমি নাজান ব্যবহাৰ ।  
ইহাবে না ভয় প্রতি চৰিৱ আমার ॥  
লোকাপেক্ষা নাহি ইহার কৃষ্ণ কৃপা হৈতে ।  
আমি কভু লোকাপেক্ষা না পারি ছাড়িতে ।  
অতএব তুমি সব রহ নৌলাচলে ।  
দিনকত তীৰ্থ আমি ভৰ্মিব একলে ॥’

two hundred miles, was adorned with beautiful stones and metallic decorations, and at proper intervals tanks were dug for the pilgrims who would journey to the holy city in Chaitanya's company. Luxurious plants were made to grow on both sides of the road many months before, so that Chaitanya when he travelled found sweet and fragrant Bakul flowers on all sides. Each day the road was filled with soft petals so that nothing hard might give pain to Chaitanya who walked barefoot. Not this only, Rājā Pratāpa Rudra ordered that a pillar should be raised where Chaitanya halted every day to commemorate the journey. Each ghāt where he would bathe, should be made a shrine. Thousands of people accompanied him. But he, when he saw all this fuss, quietly returned, giving up all idea of going to Vṛndāvana that time. And when after a year or so he went privately, the popular song thus describes him :

“Look, how Chaitanya goes to Vṛndāvana, a torn rag at his back, his head shaven and a begging bowl in his hand.”<sup>1</sup>

The people of Nadiyā when they saw the ascetic Chaitanya at Puri naturally felt a great sorrow ; for “he had no longer his beautiful stuff of curling hair which had adorned his head. It was shaven. He was reduced to skeleton.

“গোর চলি ত্রজ নগরে, ছেঁড়া কাথা মুড়ামাথা করক লইয়া করে।”

He had a strip of cloth to cover his loins and a rag for his outer mantle. His body was covered with dust. He looked like a mad man only his tears bespoke the joy of love."

In the Deccan children threw dust at him saying "Look, there goes the 'Mad after God,' Sannyāsī mad after God." And he often turned round to speak of God and then an immense crowd gathered round him; old and young men, children and women, lay transfixed to the spot, charmed by every word that fell from his lips.

It is said that he was a Vaiṣṇava. So far as the fact goes that he interpreted the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, and was the disciple of a Vaiṣṇava Guru, it may be true; but his faith had a universal character; it was a religious philosophy which appeals to reason and can be accepted by all people. Though repeatedly saying that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult had an emblematic significance, expressing the highest form of love for God, he did not give up his faith in the shrines associated with the Kṛṣṇa legends. This was what he said addressing Jagannātha at Puri:

"Here am I, and here art thou, oh Kṛṣṇa, and the joy of our union is ever new here as of old, yet my mind yearns for an union with thee in Vṛndāvana." This utterance relating to Chaitanya's predilection for the holy city, should

not be given an exaggerated importance. The temples of Durgā, Cīva, and Ganeṣa and in fact all other shrines that he visited invoked in him spiritual emotions of the same nature. Every temple was sacred to him, as he believed his God to dwell there nay more, every forest expressed to him the message of Vṛndāvana, every river, the sacredness of the Yamunā. In the sea he saw his Kṛṣṇa smiling and beckoning him, and he jumped into it with arms outstretched to embrace his God ; a fisherman saved his life. A young child once stood before him whose lovely colour reminded him of his dark-blue god, and he fell into a trance.<sup>1</sup> Once when a meal was placed before him, he was attracted by the sweet-smelling rice and asked by what name it was called. They said it is called the meal of Kṛṣṇa. Hearing this Chaitanya betrayed sudden emotions and weeping with joy had his trance again. Often he recited verses and songs with tears of joy, as he madly ran to embrace his god mirrored in the sky. He found Him in the trees, and Govinda Dāsa mentions that at Chāndīpur in the Deccan he remained leaning on a Tamāla tree as on a lover, unconscious for the whole day, and when restored to his senses he spoke of the great joy of union with God in half-broken words chocked by emotion. Sometimes he would quote verses from

<sup>1</sup> Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Madhya Khaṇḍa, Ch. XXII.

the Bhāgavata and other books or sing songs of Chāndīdāsa, Vidyāpati and Jaydeva for the whole night, with interpretations, which as the audience heard, they thought that they heard a god speak of God. They worshipped the speaker with tears of love and joy.

He laid axe at the very root of the caste-system, though like some aromatic plants it has the power in India to revive and multiply where it is cut, and is not a thing to be easily destroyed.

A breaker of the caste-system.

Chaitanya expressed himself freely and in plain language.

“Even if a Muchi (a cobbler) is devoted to God, a thousand times do I bow to him.”<sup>1</sup>

“If a man eates from the plate of a Dom (hated by all) he becomes pre-eminently entitled to god’s grace by that act of mercy.”<sup>2</sup>

At Nadiyā before his Sannyās he often carried the buskets of people to their homes, and sometimes bore their clothes to the bathing Ghāṭ and did other menial acts which as a Brāhmaṇ he should not have done. When the people whom he thus served forbade him to do so, he said

<sup>1</sup> “মুচি যদি ভঙ্গিতবে ডাকে কৃষ্ণনে  
কোটি নমস্কার মোর তাহার চরণে।”

Kaḍebā by Govinda Dāsa.

<sup>2</sup> “অভু কহে যে জন ডোমের অন্ন খায়।  
হরিঙ্গতি হরি মেই পাই সকল্পায়।”

Kaḍcha by Govinda Dasa.

"Don't object good friends ! These little acts make my vision of God clearer to me."<sup>1</sup>

He was strict in dealing with those ascetics in whom he discovered the least tendency to worldliness. An ascetic should have an unspotted character and be above blame. He could tolerate no breach of conduct in those who had adopted the Sannyāsi's vow. Chaitanya, however, did not deal with all in the same manner ; he had studied the weaknesses and strength of those who were near him in a discriminating manner. Rāma Ray used to be often in the company of women, but Chaitanya knew that they sang holy songs to him giving fervour to his faith. His character stood on the firm rock of unflinching devotion to God. But in the case of Haridāsa, the younger, Chaitanya's treatment was hard, for he knew the man to be weak though he had taken the ascetic's vows. The little incident leading to his tragic fate related in the Chaitanya Charitamṛta is full of pathos.

The story of the  
Haridāsa, the  
younger.

Haridāsa was a handsome young man with a musical voice. One day when Chaitanya took his meal, he found the rice to be of a superior quality and asked Gopinātha Āchārya where the rice came from. Gopinātha said 'one of us got it from Mādhavī'. Mādhavī was an accomplished woman noted for her many excellent qualities.

<sup>1</sup> Chaitanya Bhāgavata Adi 11a.

She used to transcribe documents for use in the Jagannātha temple. Chaitanya said again ‘who is it that went to her to get this rice?’ He was informed in reply that it was Haridāsa who did so. Chaitanya praised the quality of the rice and was silent for a time. After taking his meal, however, he said ‘I should not like Haridāsa to come near me.’ The friends of Chaitanya did not understand why he was so hard upon the young Sannyāsi. Haridāsa fasted three days in grief over this punishment, and yet the Master did not relent; and then when one near him pleaded in behalf of Haridāsa, Chaitanya said “A young Sannyāsi pays attention to a woman. This is what I can never endure. These men whose passions have not yet been controlled feign asceticism and seek women.” Saying so he entered his room and they did not dare speak to him more on the point that day. The next day they again interceded in his behalf, pleading that the fault was a small one. Chaitanya said ‘You know that I always follow the dictates of my heart. The company of a false ascetic I avoid. The desires of the flesh are hard even for a Rishi to conquer. How careful should a Sannyāsi be whose vows is one of total abstinence! If you plead for him again, you will not see me here.’ Then Farmānanda Puri, the saint and scholar whom Chaitanya revered, called

Chaitanya sternly  
rejects all requests  
in behalf of Hari-  
dasa.

on him and spoke for the young man. Chaitanya said :

' You are the leader of Sannyāsīs and may do as you like. Gather them all in this temple to teach them manners. But permit me, Sir, to go to Alātnath. I shall start to-day for that place.'

Saying so he asked Govinda, his attendant, to make himself ready for the journey. Paramānanda Puri apologised for his request and dissuaded him from leaving the place.

Poor Haridāsa was advised by his friends to take his meal as usual; for they said ' Your fasts would only offend the Master the more' and the young Sannyāsi tasted his meal for the first time after three days at their request. He however stayed at Purī for one year after this time, and saw from a distance the trances of Chaitanya and his lily-like face bedewed with tears of spiritual joy. But to the blessed circle of the Master's constant associates, Haridāsa had no access. His grief became unsupportable and he went away to Triveni and drowned himself. The following story of a marvellous nature is related at this stage of the account, in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta.

One night Chaitanya accompanied by Jagadānanda, Swarupa, Govinda, Kāṭṭewara, Cāṅkara, and Dāmodara visited the sea-coast. From the distance a strange melody came bursting into the

air suddenly, a song from an unseen source, trembling with pathos, full of sweet appeals for mercy. They all heard, and Chaitanya said ‘Don’t you know it is young Haridāsa. His spirit is there. He committed suicide and has been reduced to this condition, but a truly penitent soul will have mercy.’

The strange melody from the sen None knew then that Haridāsa had drowned himself. After a

year Čivānanda Sen, Črīvāsa and other Bengalis came to Purī from Nadiyā, and when the residents of Purī asked if Haridāsa had gone to Nadiyā a year ago, Črīvāsa said “No friends, he went to Allahabad and there committed

The drowning. suicide by drowning himself in the Treveni.” The story filled all of them with astonishment.

This shows how strictly he treated the ascetics of his Order. Another instance is related of Govinda Ghōṣa of Agradwipa. After his meal Chaitanya was one day served with portion of Haritaki fruit by Govinda Ghōṣa. The Master asked him as to where he had got the Haritaki from. Govinda replied that it was the remnant of the day before. Chaitanya said ‘Then you

His treatment of Govinda Ghōṣa. store things for the morrow, even, as worldly men do. You are not fit for this Order. Go home and live as a man of the world.’ He obliged him to go back to his home at Agradwip. One may think that the

little breaches of conduct should not have been treated so hard. But Chaitanya, who knew his fellow ascetics better than others, often discovered in their small faults, great moral or spiritual defects which unfitted them for the Holy Order. His treatment of the house-holders and even of robbers and thieves, however, is characterised by that mercy which can alone win them to spiritual life.

What is it that Chaitanya saw in his trances? The late Swami Vivekānanda had asked Paramahansa Rāmakṛṣṇa if he had seen God, about whom so much was said. The latter replied :

‘Yes, I have seen God as vividly as I see you or the wall before me.’ The emphatic way in which he spoke this impressed the scholar who had never before heard anybody say that he had seen God, and that with so much force. The young scholar, so proud of his modern learning, questioned the prophet minutely, and he himself eventually became a disciple of Rāmakṛṣṇa.

Visions such as Chaitanya saw were beheld by many of his followers. We will deal in a future course of lectures with the life of Črinivasa, towards the latter part of the 16th century, in which the visions were seen frequently, and were sometimes of long duration, making him lose all consciousness of the physical world. In Chaitanya we find the trances not only in their most attractive form, but we

also come in contact with a stoic strength of character, a great learning and a power to impart his feelings and ecstasies to others in a way which is perhaps unprecedented in the annals of mysticism. In other lives the glow of vision drew only the kindred souls to an admiration for it ; in Chaitanya its fascination was so powerful, its effect so far-reaching, that every one who beheld him while in his trances, felt an overwhelming force which turned the very tide of his life. The cool-headed materialistic felt its charm no less than the poet and the dreamer. Even the Mahomedans were sometimes inspired by his ecstasies of love for Kṛṣṇa. The General Bijali Khan turned a Vaiṣṇava under their spell. Gorai Kazi, the Magistrate of Nadiyā, and the Mehomadan tailor at Çivasa's house turned his great admirers, not to speak of Haridāsa, the Mahomedan, whose life was dedicated to him. The conversation which Husan Saha had with Keçaya Kṣetri quoted in Chaitanya Charitāmṛta shows in what high admiration the Emperor held Chaitanya.

*XV. — A Comparative study of Mysticism,  
Occidental and Oriental.*

The mystic light, it will be proved by history, shone in the East and the West alike in the favoured medieval ages. For the purpose of showing the similarity of the experiences of

European and Asiatic mystics we shall briefly refer to the lives of some Catholic saints of the

St. Catharine of West. St. Catharine of Siena Siena. (born 1347 A. D.) used to see the image of Christ in the sky over the Dominican Church even when she was a girl of six. It is recorded that she used to commune with Christ, who taught her "by means of a clear bodily appearance," with such fervour that she would "pass into the state of ecstasy," and remain unconscious of the external world for hours together.<sup>1</sup>

The stages of orison as described by St. The stages of Teresa (born 1515 A. D.) in her Orison 'el Castillo' show a remarkable parallel with the progressive steps of the Vaiṣṇava faith. A further exposition of the Vaiṣṇava tenets, as detailed in many of their works in Sanskrit and Vernacular, will make a comprehension of the situation easier. I have already referred to Dāsyā a stage in which the spiritual soul considers itself as a servant of God, carrying out the behests of its Master. Vātsalyā—the stage in which God manifests himself as a child. Humanity represents the Divine child, and the soul offers its paternal care and services to it. Sakhya where God is our friend and playmate. We play with others in a spirit of concord and of harmony, realising that He is the

<sup>1</sup> Father Raimond's life of St. Catharine.

Main Player, inspiring and guiding our play. The spiritual soul feels itself secure and happy because its sees the Main Player near it--the source of hope, of love and perennial joy to the players; Mādhurya the stage of love in which the spiritual soul passes into visions of beatitude and into trances, where it yearns for union with the Lover. He is the Bridegroom, and the soul of Man His devoted bride. This bride is Rādhā of the Vaiṣṇava Literature. The soul of man is bound by a thousand ties to the world, but it frees itself from these and longs for the Bridegroom only. The Lover dwells in the sacred Vrindā groves where nothing but the sound of his sweet flute is heard. Rādhā the soul, mad after Him, seeks Him and meets Him everywhere. From the blue of the sky, from the river and sea He beckons the human soul to meet Him. When the vision, by long prayers and devotion, by the virtues acquired in this life or in the previous ones, becomes clear to the spiritual soul, it realises God as vividly as we do material objects. This woman's ardour of the soul has been the characteristic of spiritual longings in Europe, and Asia alike. This is represented in the conception of Rādhā in the Vaiṣṇava Literature. Mrs. Underhill says "Those for whom mysticism is above all things, an intimate and personal relation the satisfaction of deep

desire—will fall back upon imagery drawn largely from the language of earthly passion.”<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that God is sometimes called the Bridegroom and the human soul the bride in Biblical literature. Newman says “If thy soul is to go on into higher spiritual blessedness, it must become a *woman*; yes, however mainly thou may be among men”.

St. Bernard (1091-1153 A.D.) writes “When I love God with my will, I transform myself into Him, for this is the power of virtue of love that it maketh thee to be like unto that which thou lovest.”<sup>2</sup>

St. Teresa’s (born 1515 A.D.) visions were so fervent, that at times she St. Teresa. fancied herself to be one with Christ. This stage is beautifully expressed in the 10th Skanda of Çrimadvāgavata where the Gopī forgets herself and “thinks herself to be Kṛṣṇa herself.” In the Gitā Govinda, Jayadeva (1168-1200 A. D.) has a beautiful line

“মুহূরনলোকতি মণ্ডন লীলা, মুর্বিপুরহন্তি ভাবনশীলা”

“I am Kṛṣṇa thought Rādhā in her trance” which was imitated, in the famous stanza of Vidyāpati (14th century)

“অনুধন মাধব মাধব সোঙ্গিতে সুন্দরী ভেল মাধাটি”

<sup>1</sup> Under Hill’s mysticism, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Soliloquies of St. Bonaventura ex I, quoted by Under Hill p. 104.

"Constantly thinking of Kṛṣṇa, the beautiful one ( Rādhā ) became as Kṛṣṇa himself." Chaitanya is said to have uttered in some of his trances the words 'I am He'! All these owe a kinship to the celebrated utterance of Christ himself. "I and my father are one."

We have described the four stages of spiritual worship but there is one which we have omitted, and which precedes them all. It is the Çānta the stage in which all weed-like passions are removed, and the soul of man becomes fit to grow spiritual love in its fullest bloom. Çānta means quiet. This is a state for which our Ṛṣis strove, and which we find pre-eminently in the Buddha. Look at any stone image of the Buddha, what this quiet means will be realised at the sight of it. The Mongolian sculptor has given him flat lips and eyes. The Magadha has given a sharp Aryan cut to his face. The Gandhāra art has given fit proportions to his body. But in the great gallery of the Buddhistic images, whether the stone is so roughly hewn as to give it but the crudest likeness of a human-figure, or cut with the finest strokes of the chisel, giving it the most realistic perfection, the quiet of the soul, indicated in the face, is the prominent feature of all the statues of the Buddha, whether he is represented

<sup>+</sup> "মুক্তি মেই মুক্তি মেই কহি কহি হাসো।"

in his standing or sitting posture. The four other stages are not possible unless this stage of quiet has been attained. For if the soul is to mirror the beauty of the spiritual world, all evil passions must be removed by a perfect moral life, by abstinence, fast and prayer.

St. Teresa thus classifies the stages of worship in "El. Castills Interior."

1 Recollection, 2 Quiet, 3 Union, 4 Ecstasy, 5 Rapt, 6 The pain of God, 7 The Spiritual marriage.

In all the later Vaiṣṇava poems, the stages of Rādhā's love, which are but a reproduction of the ecstasies, experienced by Chaitanya, are thus classified. Purva Rāga—the dawn of love ; Milana—union and ecstasy ; Sambhoga Milana—Rapt ; Viraha—(Mathura)—the pain of God, and Bhāvasammilana or the Spiritual marriage.

These are some of the main divisions ; but the Vaiṣṇava poets have introduced a hundred niceties and the heads under which the emotions have been grouped are altogether 360. In some of the standard Vaiṣṇava works we find these emotions fully defined and treated in a scientific manner, particularly in the Sanskrit work of Rūpa called the Ujjala Nīlamaṇi, which gives copious illustrations from standard love-poems. This was subsequently summarised in Bengali by Narahari Chakravarti in his Bhaktiratnākara. One may be naturally struck by the wonderful

coincidence which the main classifications of  
 the Vaiṣṇavas bear to those made  
 Other mystics. by St. Teresa. It shows that  
 similar ideas and experiences of the spiritual  
 world have taken place throughout the Globe  
 irrespective of creed or colour. The Mahome-  
 dans have amongst them their Sufi poets and  
 mystics, such as Jelaluddin (1207-1273 A.D.),  
 Hafiz (1300-1388 A.D.) and Jami (1414-1493  
 A.D.), who have expressed the ideas which are  
 closely similar to those to be found in the Songs  
 of Songs and in the lyrical poems of the  
 Vaiṣṇavas. Many of the Catholic Saints of the  
 middle ages saw visions of Christ and experienced  
 mystic trances of this nature.. There are even  
 sects among the Protestants, such as the Quakers  
 (founded by George Fox 1624-1691 A.D.)  
 whose faith is characterised by physical mani-  
 festations of joy similar to those to found every  
 where amongst the Vaiṣṇava of Bengal. They  
 have declared this before the world in an  
 emphatic way, that “those who did not quake  
 and tremble are strangers to the experiences of  
 Moses, David and the Saints.”<sup>1</sup> They wanted  
 to realize “Christ within”. Contrary to the  
 Puritan teaching of the time, they insisted on  
 the possibility in their lives of complete victory  
 over sin. Those who attain such a stage among  
 the Hindus and Buddhists are known as the

Siddhyas. An authoritative writer thus comments on the European mystics of the middle ages : "The new idea of obedience was not obedience to ecclesiastical superiors, but the subordination of the lower part of man's nature to the higher, and of the whole to God. This 'renunciation' cut off from practical sympathy with the visible church, feeding itself on a vague idea of union with Christ, might easily have fallen a prey to Buddhist notions floating in the atmosphere."<sup>1</sup> The Mahāyānists among the Buddhists had already spread the mystic ideas in the far East. That they may even have reached Europe is indicated by the above passage. They believed not only in the Buddha and in the innumerable gods and goddesses, most of whom are worshipped by the Hindus, but also in the emancipated Man—the Siddha, whom the Christians call mystic and the Jains, 'Tirthankara'. If the experiences of these people are to be credited, we may take it that the soul like a mirror reflects certain spiritual phenomena not known to ordinary men, when it is purged of all dross of material passion. From the time of Philo, the mystical Alexandrian Jew (B.C. 20 to A.D. 40), Europe had heard of this mysticism, and at one time there were many whose inner eyes had actually beheld the glorious visions. The West however could never

<sup>1</sup>See Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. XIV, p. 23. (9th edition).

absolutely dissociate herself from the idea of nationality, which narrows the range of humanity, leading to conflicts of interest, nor free herself from political ideals based on a desire for acquisition of power. She has not therefore been able to develop introspection and other qualities of the soul in a sustained manner. This has reduced her mystics to a sect isolated from the church and beyond general appreciation, whereas in Asia and particularly in India, the mystics rank, among the highest in popular estimation. Elaborate works and treatises, have been written here describing the ways by which one may attain the stage of spiritual perfection. These works are treated in a scientific manner, though for the purpose of practice the help of a Guru is required.

The stages of worship or orision have already been mentioned. All of these we find in a pre-eminent degree in the life of Chaitanya. He realised the presence of God in his soul with that ardour of romantic love by which the inward vision is supplemented and fed by a symbolical significance given to external phenomena. One of the stages of orision given in “El Castillo”  
The pain of God is called ‘The pain of God.’ It is  
 the pain of separation from God.  
 The mystics often call it ‘The dark night of the soul.’ Says Mr. Underhill :—

"In some temperaments, it is the emotional aspect—the anguish of the lover who has suddenly lost the Beloved—which predominates."<sup>1</sup>

In St. Teresa the pain grew to such a degree that she cried aloud. It is said that Madame Guyon (1648-1717 A.D.) felt this loss of her intuitive apprehension of God as one of the most terrible characteristic of 'the night.' She writes : "After thou hast wounded me so deeply as I have described, thou didst begin, oh my god, to withdraw thyself from me: and the pain of thy absence was the more bitter to me because thy presence was so sweet to me."<sup>2</sup>

Suso, Rulman, Marstin, Tauber, Angelo of Foligmo, Michtheld of Magdeburg and other mystics knew the sufferings of the loss of this God-vision.

In Chaitanya's life 'the night of the soul' created a pathos which has found expression in a remarkable literature of lyrics known as the 'Māthur' lit. 'going to Mathurā.' It means the grief caused to the people of Vṛndāvana, chiefly the Gopis, by Kṛṣṇa's deserting the place for ever and going to Mathurā, where a short time after he became the king. Kṛṣṇakamala Goswāmi, a Bengali poet in his Divyonmāda 'The divine Frenzy—written about the year 1840, describes the Māthur in this way :

<sup>1</sup> Under Hill, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> Under Hill, p. 465.

"When God vision is clear in a spiritual soul, it is expressed by the allegory of Kṛṣṇa's coming to the Vṛndā groves, when the vision fails, it is indicated by that of his going to Mathurā."<sup>1</sup>

The loud lamentations, the nights of sleepless agony, the cryings aloud and the mad utterances of love lend the most pathetic interest to the literature of 'Mathurā.' "He (Chaitanya) saw the hill of Chatak (in Orissa) and mistook it for the hill Gobardhana (in Vṛndāvana) and ran after it, crying aloud."<sup>2</sup> Sometimes he breathed heavily and leaning on Govinda, said with tears 'Govinda, where is my God gone, pray tell me how may I have Him again ?'<sup>3</sup> Sometimes he cried 'Oh my God, my father, where art thou gone ? I cannot live without thee'<sup>4</sup> saying this in deep agony of heart he wept and then passed into an unconscious state -into one of those trances which made it clear to all that he was united with Him. When he came to his senses again he appealed in a tender tone 'He was here with me, oh where is He gone again, my grief is unsupportable,'

"ଶ୍ରୀ ତ୍ରିକଳେ ମୁଦ୍ରି ସଥନ ଦେଖେନ ନୟନେ ।  
ତଥାନ ଭାବେନ କୃଷ୍ଣ ଏଲ ବୁଦ୍ଧାବନେ ॥  
ଅଦ୍ଵିନେ ଭାବେନ କୃଷ୍ଣ ଗୋଚନ ମଧୁପୂରୀ ।"

The Divyonmada

Chaitanya Charitamṛta, Madhya Khanda.

Kaṭchā by Govinda Dāsa.

Chaitanya Bhāgavata.

and then he sang songs from Chāndīdāsa and Vidyāpati, from Jayadeva and Billamangala, and he commented them with his tears and sighs and passed again and again to his accustomed trance. "The periods of rapid oscillation between a joyous and a painful consciousness," says Mrs. Under Hill, "are called by the mystics 'the game of love in which god plays as it were 'hide and seek' with the questioning soul."

Chaitanya is adored in India for this love. His life not only inspired religious men but also supplied inspiration to those writers who have given poetical accounts of his emotions under the allegory of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Jñānadāsa, Govinda Dāsa, Valarama Dāsa, Raiçekhara, Kṛṣṇa Kamala and other poets have, in their beautiful lyrics, shown the highest flights of emotional poetry that bears a deep symbolic meaning. The sighs and tears of Rādhā and her poetic ecstasies are but those of the poor Brāhmaṇ scholar who took his Sannyāsa at the age of 24 and wandered from door to door like a mad man, displaying the profoundest love for One not seen by us, but who is our only Beloved.

#### *XXI. Chaitanya's Sannyasa and love-ecstasies.*

The Sannyāsa of Chaitanya which meant the total severance of his home-ties, in order to offer

himself to the service of humanity and of God, created great distress at Nadiyā, giving rise to an impassionate burst of poetic feeling which has created a literature of great beauty and tenderness. The sorrows of Čachī, his mother and of Viṣṇupriyā, his wife, are the sorrows of the whole of Bengal and Orissa to-day. As Chaitanya sought his God Kṛṣṇa and lamented his separation from him, nourishing the

The Māthura Songs Māthura songs from a living fount of pathos in his own heart,—so to his innumerable worshippers at Nadiyā, separation from him caused the growth of similar songs which are now sung as the prelude to Māthura songs. In fact his life is constantly before those singers who sing of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and it is indispensable that they should first sing the Gaura Chandrikā or songs of which some emotions of Chaitanya is the theme, before they are permitted to introduce similar songs relating to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa love. These Gaura Chandrikās are in fact reminders to the audience that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa love should bear to them a spiritual meaning, that though sometimes presented in a sensual garb, it actually belongs to a super-sensuous plane. The great life of the Master was itself the most powerful symbol of this love and there could be but one meaning to this mystic literature of love.

I have already stated that Narahari Sarkār and Vāsudeva Ghosh are the two great writers of Gaura Chandrikās—or songs describing Chaitanya's emotions. All other Vaiṣṇava poets of the 16th and 17th centuries have more or less written on this subject. Vāsudeva excelled all of them, and at the present day when a *Flirtana* is sung, it is invariably preluded by a Gaura Chandrikā by Vāsudeva or some other poet. The stories of Chaitanya's *sannyāsa* given by these poets are often very touching and give rise to tender pathos.

I shall attempt to translate some of these :

( 1 )<sup>1</sup>

Viṣṇupriyā like one insane runs from the landing Ghāṭ to where Čachī was.

Her hair is not braided after her bath, but she cares not for this.

। পাগলনী বিষ্ণুপ্রিয়া তিজা বদ্ধ চুলে ।  
 দুরা করি বাঢ়া আসি শাশ্ডীরে বলে ॥  
 বলিতে না পারে কিছু কদিয়া ফাঁকুর ।  
 শটী বলে মাগো এত কি লাগি কাঁতুর ॥  
 বিষ্ণুপ্রিয়া বলে আর কি কব জননী ।  
 চাঁপিদিগে অমঙ্গল কাঁপিছে পরাণি ॥  
 নাহিতে পড়িল জলে নাকের বেশুর ।  
 ভাঙ্গিবে কপাল মাথে পড়িবে বহুর ॥  
 ধাকি ধাকি প্রাণ কাঁদে নাচে ঢানি ঝাঁপি ।  
 দৃঢ়িক্ষণে ভুজগ্ন মেন রঢ়ি রঢ়ি দেপি ॥  
 বাঁদি কহে বাখ্যোন কি কথিব সতী ।  
 আজি নবষীপ চাঁচি মাবে প্রাপ্তি ।

She attempts to ease her mind to Çachī but bursts into tears.

Çachī says “ what grief ails thee, Child ? ”

Whereat she—“ At the time of bathing, my nose-ornament fell into water, and inauspicious signs have I seen around, I cannot speak.

“ It seems good luck will leave me to-day and thunder will fall on my head.”

Vāsudeva says : “ What shall I say to thee, o loyal wife ! to-day your dear husband will leave Nadiyā for good.”

( 2 )<sup>1</sup>

Chaitanya leaves Nadiyā to-day.

No waves dance on the Ganges' breast.

The images of Çiva, Ganapati and other gods in the temples look strangely pale.

The new leaves do not open ; nor flowers bloom on the boughs.

Says Narahari “ The beauty of Nadiyā is gone, she cannot support her grief.”

। গোরাটান চাড়ি যাবে নৈদা, ইথে তরঙ্গ রহিত জাহুবীধারা ।  
 ॥ শস্তি ভগবতী গথপতি মৃষ্টি ছিল হইল মলিন পারা ॥  
 । এক লতা ফুল পর্বত নহে, না বিকাশে পূপ হৃগফইনা ।  
 তাহে না বৈদে না পিয়ে পুন্দরস না গুঞ্জে ভূমির ভূমির দীনা ॥  
 পিককুল কলরব বিরহিত, না নাচে ময়ুর ময়ুরী সনে ।  
 সারি শক নানা পাখী আঁ পিখুরে, নারে উড়িবারে ব্যাকুল বনে ॥  
 ধেনুগণ হাথাববে না ধাবয়ে, মৃগাদি পশু না ধরয়ে ধৃতি ।  
 তখে নরহরি শোভা দুরে, দুঃখ সন্ধিরিতে নারে নদীয়া পিতি ॥

( 3 )<sup>1</sup>

The people of Nadiyā sadly ask those Sādhus and asecties who come from Orissa side.

“ Holy pilgrims, did you meet anywhere a Sannyāsī named Chaitanya. Young is he, and his colour bright like melted gold.

“ He repeats the name of Kṛṣṇa night and day and tears flow from both his eyes.

“ He sometimes smiles, and at other times weeps, and sometimes falls down on the bare earth in deep emotion.”

The Sādhus say in reply “ Yea have we seen him. He lives near the seacoast.

“ He is a God, who says he is man ?

“ Those who have seen his dance in ecstasy of love, his emotion and tears, hold him dear as life.

নীলাচল পুরে, গঢ়ায়ত করে, যত বৈরাগী সন্ন্যাসী ।  
 তাহা সবাকরে কাঁদিয়া শুধায় যত নবঘোপবাসী ॥  
 তোমরা কি এক সন্ন্যাসী দেখিয়াছ ।  
 শ্রীকৃষ্ণচৈতন্য তাহার নাম, তারে কি ভেটিয়াছ ॥  
 বয়সে নবীন, গলিত কাঞ্চন, গিনি তনুথানি গোরা ।  
 হরেকৃষ্ণ নাম, বলয়ে সমনে নয়নে গলয়ে ধারা ॥  
 কথন হাসন, কথন রোদন, কথন আচার থায় ।  
 পুনর্কের ছটা, শিমুলের কঁটা, ইচ্ছন মোনার পায় ॥  
 তারা বলে আহা, দেখিয়াছি তাহা থাকেন সম্মুক্লে ।  
 টেই জগন্নাথ আপন সাঙ্গাত, তারে কে মানুষ বলে ।  
 যেরূপ মে ষণ, মে নাট কীর্তন, মে প্রেম-বিকার দেখি ।  
 হেন লঘ মনে, তাহার চরণে, সদাই অস্ত্রে রাখি ।  
 শিয়া নীলাচল, ভাগ্যে মে ফলিল, দেখিমু চরণ তার ।  
 প্রেমদাস গায়, মেই গোরারায়, প্রাণ ইহা সবাকার ॥

"It was good luck that we met him at Orissa."

Says Premadāsa "Surely it is he, the dear one of the Nadiyā people".

(4)<sup>1</sup>

'From Orissa comes Jagadānanda to Nadiyā with Chaitanya's message to his mother.

'From afar, does the scholar see the town, deserted as the Vṛndā groves were of old, and hesitates thinking 'shall I find her living still?'

'Stopping a moment he starts again and finds the people there merged in grief.

'The shops are closed and people move about.

But none smiles in that vast city.

'The women he saw weeping, seated here and there, each by herself,

'and as he saw these, he entered the house of the adored one.

'Cachī lay in a corner half-dead with grief,

গুণেক বহিয়া চলিল উইয়া, পঙ্কিত জগদানন্দ।  
 নদীয়া নগরে, দেখে ঘবে ঘরে, কাহার নাহিক স্পন্দ ॥  
 না মেলে পসার, না করে আহাব, কারো মুখে নাহি হাসি ।  
 নগরে নগরী, কাদয়ে শুমরি, থাকয়ে বিরলে বসি ॥  
 দোথ্যা নগর, ঠাকরের ঘর, প্রবেশ করিল যাই ।  
 আধ মরা যেন, পড়ি আছে হেন, অচেতন শটী মাই ॥

'and the wife poorly clad sat near her mother-in-law with down cast eyes from which large drops of tears fell.

The trusted servant Īcāna in silent grief served them but often did he wipe away the rising tears with his hand.

The attendant maids sat silently, and as the scholar entered they asked him,

"Pray sir, tell us, whence hast thou come?"

Whereat he "I come from Orissa, Chaitanya has sent me from there to look after you."

And one of them as she heard it, wept for joy and bore the message to Çāchi.

And another ran at once to Çrīvāsa's place with the glad news.

And when Mālinī and Çrīvāsa heard it, they felt as restored to life.

And the whole city came with them trembling with joy to Çāchi's house.

অভূত রমণী, মেই অনাখিনী, অভূতের হইয়া তারা ।  
পড়িয়া আছেন, মলিন বসনে, মুদিত নয়নে ধারা ॥  
বিশাসী প্রধান, কিঙ্কর দুশ্চান, নয়নে শোকাঙ্গ ধারে ।  
তবু রক্ষা করে, শাশ্বতী বধুরে, সর্বদা শৃঙ্খলা করে ॥  
দাস দাসী সব, আচয়ে নীরব, দেখিয়া পথিক জন ।  
শুধাইছে তারে, কহগো সবারে, কোথা হৈতে আগমন ॥  
পশ্চিত কহেন, মৌর আগমন নীলাচল পুরী হৈতে ।  
গৌরাঙ্গ শুনুন, পাঠাইলা মোরে, তোমা সবারে দেখিতে ॥  
শুনিয়া বচন, সজল নয়ন, শচীরে কহিল গিয়া ।  
আর একজন, চলিল তখন, শ্রীবাস মন্দিরে ধাক্কা ॥

They waited at the gate but Mālinī went and held Çachi and Viṣṇupriyā by the hand and raised them from the stupor of grief.

'She said "Look there your son has sent a friend to make enquiries.' "

'Hearing this surprised Çachi looks up and sees our scholar standing at the gate.

'And seeing him she said "Oh tell me, how far has my son come on his way towards home ?"

'The Pandit wept to see her grief and related little incidents of Chaitanya staying there in Çachi's house and giving solace to all.

'Chandraçekhara, the poet, is hard-hearted as a beast, ministering to his lower self ;

'and cares not for the heavenly nector that the story of Chaitanya brings'.

শনিয়া উরাম, মালিনী শীবাম, যত নবদ্বীপ বাসী  
 মরা হেন চিল, অমনি ধাইল, পরাণ পাইল আসি।  
 মালিনী আসিয়া, শচী বিষ্ণুপ্রিয়া, উঠাইল দ্বা করি।  
 বলে চাহি দেখ, পাঠাইল লোক, তত্ত্ব লৈতে গৌরহর্ষি ॥  
 শনি শচী মাটি, সচকিত চাই, দেখিলেন পশ্চিতেরে।  
 কহে তাৱ ঠাই, আমাৱ নিমাই, আসিয়াছে কত দূৰে ॥  
 দেখি প্ৰেমনীমা, দেহেৰ মহিমা, কানিয়া পশ্চিত কয়  
 মেই গৌরমণি, যগে যুগে জানি, তুয়া প্ৰেম বশ হয় ॥  
 গৌরাঙ্গ চৱিত, হেন নীতৰীত, সবাকাৰে শুনাইয়া।  
 পশ্চিত রহিলা নদীয়া নগৰে, সবাকাৰে মুথ দিয়া ॥  
 এ চন্দ্ৰশেখৰ, পঞ্চৰ মোসৰ, বিষয়ে সতত আৰুত ।  
 গৌরাঙ্গ চৱিত, পৰম অমৃত, তাহে না লয় চিত ॥

(5)

Oh, why does he hold the staff, and wears  
the ochre-colored garb of an ascetic ?

Oh, why has he shaven his head ?

Why is it that he weeps and says ‘ Rādhā,’  
‘ Rādhā.’

The loud lamentings of Ārīvāsa, it seems,  
would melt the very stone and Gadādhara cannot  
bear life,

Mukunda’s two eyes float in tears.

And Haridāsa goes from door to door solacing  
those who are in grief.

The youthful wife is like a flame in the  
house.

Oh, why has he left her, for what fault ?

Vāsu Ghoṣa says ‘ It breaks my heart day  
and night to recollect it.’

(6)<sup>1</sup>

Chaitanya, our beloved has left Nadiyā.

His friends are overwhelmed with grief,

Advaita, Ārīvāsa, Gadādhara, Vāsudeva and

নদায় ছাড়িয়া গেল গোরাম হৃদয়ে ।  
ত্বরিত ভক্ত সব শোকের সাগরে ॥  
কানিদেহ অব্রৈতাচার্য শ্রীবাস গদাধর ।  
বাহুদেব দত্ত কানে মুরারি বক্ষের ॥  
বাহুদেব নরহরি কানে উভরায় ।  
শ্রীরমনন্দন কানি ধূলায় লুটায় ॥  
বন্দিদেহেন হরদাস দুর্জাখি মুণ্ডিয়া ॥  
কানে নিত্যানন্দ শচীর মুখ নিরথিয়া ॥  
শুগময় কোর্তন করিত নদীয়ায় ।  
মোঙ্গরি সে সব বাহুর হিয়া কাটি যায় ॥

Bakreçvara silently weep but Vāsudatta and Narahari cry aloud,

Raghunandana sits on the dusty ground bowed in sorrow,

Haridāsa's eyes are closed but a tear silently trickles down his cheek.

And Nityānanda cannot control himself as he sees the poor mother in the agony of grief.

The happy nights of *kīrtana* songs are over, and Vāsudeva's heart breaks to think of it.

(7)<sup>1</sup>

The empty couch her right hand touches and the poor wife rises with a start as if thunder has fallen on her head.

She cries "Oh heaven you have at last done your worst".

Weeping she runs with dishevelled hair to the room of Čachī.

Viṣṇupriyā sits near the door and says in accents soft,

ଖୁବ୍ ପାଟେ ଦିଲ ହାତ, ସଜ ପଡ଼ିଲ ମାଥାତ, ଏକି ବିଧି ମୋରେ ବିଡ଼ିଲି।  
 କଥା କାରିଯା କାନ୍ଦେ, କେଶ ବାସ ନାହିଁ ବାଧେ, ଶତୀର ମନ୍ଦିର କାଚେ ଗେଲ ॥  
 ଶତୀର ମନ୍ଦିରେ ଆମି, ଦୟାବେର କାଚେ ବସି, ଦିବେ ଦୀରେ କହେ ବିଝୁ-ଖ୍ୟା ।  
 ଶୟନ ମନ୍ଦିରେ ଛିଲ, ନିଶ୍ଚ ଅଷ୍ଟେ କୋଥା ତେଳ, ମୋର ମୁଣ୍ଡ ବଜର ପାଡ଼ିଯା ॥  
 ଗୌରାଙ୍ଗ ଜାଗରେ ମନେ, ନିଦା ନାହିଁ ହନୟନେ, ଶ୍ରନ୍ତୀଆ ଉଠିଲ ଶତୀରାତା ।  
 ଆମ୍ବୁ-ଦାଲୁ କେଶେ ସାଯ, ବନନ ନା ରହେ ଗାୟ, ଶ୍ରନ୍ତୀଆ ବ୍ୟୁତର ମୃପେର କଥା ।  
 ତୁରିତେ ଜାଲିଆ ବାତି, ଦେଖିଲେନ ଇତି-ଉତ୍ତି, କୋନ ଠାଇ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ ନା ପାଇୟା ।  
 ବିଝ ପ୍ରିୟ ବ୍ୟୁତାଥେ, କାନ୍ଦିଯା କାନ୍ଦିଯା ପଥେ, ଡାକେ ଶତୀ ନିମାଟ ବଲିଯା ॥  
 ତା ଶନି ନଲିଆର ଲୋକେ, କାନ୍ଦେ ଉଚ୍ଛେଷ୍ଟରେ ଶୋକେ, ସାରେ ତାରେ ପୁଛେନ ବାରତା ।  
 ଏକଚନ ପଥେ ଧାୟ, ଦଶଜନ ପୁଛେ ତାୟ, ଗୌରାଙ୍ଗେ ଦେଖେଚ ଯେତେ କୋଥା ॥  
 ମେ ଏଲେ ଦେଖେଚି ଯେତେ, ଆର କେହ ନାହିଁ ମାଥେ, କାକନ ମଗରେର ପଥେ ଧାୟ ॥  
 ମାତ୍ର କହେ ଆହା ଶରୀ, ଆମାର ଗୌରହରି, ପାଛେ ଜାନି ମନ୍ତ୍ରକ ମୁଡ଼ାୟ ॥

"He was in the sleeping room and at the end  
of night has gone away

My heart breaks, oh mother."

The suspicion was ever in Çachi's mind  
and she did not sleep all the night.

She rises, her hair unbraided and loose, and  
cloths flowing in the air

She lights a candle in eager haste and looks  
about her but nowhere is he seen

She goes to the road, the sorrowful wife  
following her

Crying aloud "oh my darling s. a."

The people of Nadiyā are all wide awake and  
share in her grief

And she asks whomsoever she meets

"Oh have you seen him going?"

One man is seen in the street and he says

"Yes have I seen him going towards the  
village of Kāñchannagara all alone."

Vāsudeva says "Alas, I fear lest he gets his  
head shaven there."

(8)<sup>1</sup>

I have beheld him to-day

Sometimes he sits resting his cheek on his  
left hand.

। আজু হাম পেখলু নবদীপচল্ল ।  
করতলে করই বয়ন অবলম্ব ॥  
পুনঃ পুনঃ গতাগতি করা যৰ পথ ।  
ক্ষণে ক্ষণে ফুলবনে চলই একান্ত ॥  
চল-চল নয়ান কমল হুবিলাস ।  
নব নব ভাব করত পরকাশ ।

And then enters his room and goes out to the street again—all without meaning.

There is he again where the flowers bloom,  
shedding tears that fall from his eyes, beautiful  
as lotus leaves.

His emotions charm one who sees them,  
They are strange and new every time.

(2)<sup>1</sup>

He sits all by himself and repeats the name  
of God

Accustomed was he to scent himself with  
sandal drops,

Now behold the dust on his body—all  
uncared for.

The precious stones and golden chain he does  
not touch.

And he has left his spacious room, to sleep  
under a tree.

The ascetic's staff is in his hand  
and he bathes in the holy tears of love.

Vāsudeva's heart breaks at all this.

। বিরলে বসিয়া একেখরে ।

হরিনাম জপে নিরস্তরে

শুগাঙ্কি চন্দন মাখা গায়, এবে ধূলি বিনু আন নাহি তায়।

মণিময় রতন ভূমণ, স্পন্দন না করে পরশন

চাড়ল লথিমী বিলাস—কিবা-লাগি তরং তলে বাস ।

চোড়ল মোহন করে বৈশী, এবে দণ্ড ধরিয়া সন্ধ্যাসী ।

বিভূতি করিছ প্রেম ধন, সঙ্গে লই সব পরিজন

প্রেমজলে করই সিনান, কহে বাস্তু বিদরেপরাণ ।

(10)<sup>1</sup>

As he sees the flower garden, he sighs,  
 Sometimes he rests his cheek on his hand,  
 and at others casts his vacant look around.

His emotions are ever new.

His glances are often directed to where  
 flowers bloom,

We cannot devine what he finds in them.

But such are his emotions of joy that those  
 who see them are saved from sin.

His tears flood the world w<sup>t</sup> their love  
 Only poor Rādhāmohan is denied a drop.

(11)<sup>2</sup>

What is it he sees,  
 Why is this unmeaning smile on his lips by  
 night and day ?

কৃষ্ণিত কানন, হেরি শটানন্দন, উত্তর কাহে দনখাস !  
 ক্ষণে করতলে, অবলম্বই মুগ্ধশিল্পী ক্ষণে ক্ষণে রহত উদাস !  
 দেখ নবভাৰ তৱঙ্গ ।

চঞ্চল বঘনে, চাহে চপলমতি, গতিজিত মন্ত্ৰ গজুৱাজ,  
 পুনপুন ঈচ্ছন, তেৱেত ফুলবন, কহ নাচ দুবিয়ে কাজ ।

ঈচ্ছন ভৰ্তি কৰি তাৱল জগজনে, ভাসাইল প্ৰেমামৃত দানে ।

রাধামোহন বিন্দু না পাওল আপন কৰম বিগানে ॥

আৱে আমাৰ গোৱ কিশোৱ ।

নাহি জানে দিবা নিশি, কাৱণ বিহনে হাঁস,  
 মনেৰ তৱমে পঁত তোৱ । দুঃ  
 ক্ষণে উচৈংশ্বৰে গায, কাৱে পঁত কি মুধায,  
 কোথায় আমাৰ প্ৰাণনাথ ।

Sometimes he sings, a strange melodious song,  
and cries

“Oh lord of my heart, where art thou gone?”

Sometimes his body trembles in sweet emotions and he runs after some one we do not see. And often does he stretch his hands upwards, as if to embrace the Heaven,

At times he bewails the loss of some one we do not know;

Now does he close his eyes from which silent tears fall.

Then cries aloud saying “Oh my Beloved.”

Says Narahari “These ecstasies of love are like those of Rādhā,

“For saving the sinners of this Kali Yuga—the iron age—has he brought this emotion from heaven.

ଶ୍ରମେ ପୀତ ଅଞ୍ଚ କମ୍ପ, ଶ୍ରମେ ଶ୍ରମେ ଦେଖି ଲକ୍ଷଣ,  
କୋଠା ପାଞ୍ଚ ଯାଙ୍ଗ କାର ମାଥ ।  
ଶ୍ରମେ ଉନ୍ଧ ବାହ କବି, ନାଚି ବୁଲେ ଫିରି ଫିରି,  
ଶ୍ରମେ ଶ୍ରମେ କରଯେ ବିଲାପ ।  
ଶ୍ରମେ ଆପି ମୁଗ ମୁଦେ, ହା ନାଥ ବଲିଯା କୋଦେ,  
ଶ୍ରମେ ଶ୍ରମେ କରଯେ ନସ୍ତାପ ।  
କହେ ଦାନ ନରହରି, ଆରେ ମୋର ଗୌରହରି,  
ରାଧାର ପିରୀତେ ହୈଲ ହେଲ ।  
ମୁ ହନ କବିଯା ଚିତେ, କଲିଯୁଗ ଉକ୍ତାରିତେ,  
ବକ୍ଷିତ ହିତମୁ ମୁଖ୍ଯ କେନ

"Why is it then that I am deprived of a sight of this?"

One of these or a similar song, of which there are hundreds, is sung as the Gaurachandrika which is prelude to all Radha-Kṛṣṇa songs.

The following songs, one describing a dream of Jagodā afflicted with separation from Kṛṣṇa and another that of Cachī distressed by the Sannyāsa of her son, will show the affinity of the Kṛṣṇa songs with those of Chaitanya and will

The bearing of accentuate the bearing which the  
Chaitanya songs on Gaurachandrikā have on the  
those of Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa songs. Cachī interviewed in the morning by Mālinī, Črīvāsa's wife, thus describes her dream :

"Here my dear friend the story of my dream last night. Nimai, I saw, returned home. He stood in the courtyard and looking towards my room called out 'Oh mother' in his accustomed tone. I was then sleeping in my room and hearing his voice came out in unconscious fascination of the voice. He touched the dust of my feet and embracing me, wept and said 'Though I travel afar, my heart is subdued by your love and I could not stay at Purī without seeing you. For seeing you have I come back to Nadiyā, and as he said this his voice was chocked with tears.' 'Oh my darling, come to

me' I cried and saying so I embraced him but my dream vanished just at that time and I saw him not again. I wept the rest of the night in bitter pain. From that time my heart knows no rest. Say friend how may I soothe my heart. Nāsudeva Ghose says 'Do not weep, dear mother; Chaitanya is your own. If it were not so how could you get a sight of him (in the dream).'"'

Here is the dream of Jagodā: She describes it to her husband Nanda.

"Hear me, oh king of Braja, Kṛṣṇa appeared to me this night in a dream. But instantly he vanished where I know not. I saw his moonlike face bedewed with tears, as he held by the edge of my Sādī and cried for some butter, 'mother give me a little butter to eat' he said again and again. The more my darling wanted it from me, the more I tried to avoid him saying 'Go away hence I have no time to spare,

ନାଜିକାର ପ୍ରଥମେର କଥା, ଶୁଣି ମାଲିନୀ ମହି, ନିମାଇ ଆମିଯାଚିଲ ଘରେ ।

ଶାଙ୍କନାଥେ ଦୋଢାଟ୍ୟା ଗୃହପାନେ ନେହାବିଧ ମା ବାଲଥ ଡାକଲ ଆମାରେ ॥

ଯବେତେ ଧର୍ମ୍ୟାଚିଲାମ, ଧଚେତନେ ବାହିର ହୈଲାମ, ନିମାଇର ଗରାମାଡ଼ ପାଇୟା ।

ଆମାର ଚରଣେର ଦୂଳି, ନିଲ ନିମାଇ ଶିରେ ତୁଳି, ପୁନଃ କାନ୍ଦେ ଗଲାଟି ଧରିଯା ॥

ତୋମାର ପ୍ରେମେର ବଶେ, ଫିରି ଆମ ଦେଶେ ଦେଶେ, ରହିତେ ନାରିଲାମ ନୀଳାଚଲେ ।

ତୋମାରେ ଦେଖିବାର ତରେ, ଆସିଲାମ ବୈଚାପୁରେ, କାନ୍ଦିତେ କାନ୍ଦିତେ ଇହା ବଲେ ॥

ଆଇମ ମୋର ବାଚା ବଳି, ହିଯାର ମାଝାରେ ତୁଳି, ହେନ କାଲେ ନିଜୁଭଙ୍ଗ ହଇଲ ।

ପୁନ ନା ଦେଖିଯା ତାରେ, ପରାଗ କେମନ କରେ, କାନ୍ଦିଯା ରଜନୀ ପୋହାଇଲ ॥

ମେହି ହେତେ ଆଗ କାନ୍ଦେ, ହିଯା ଦିର ନାହି ବାଧେ, କି କରିବ କହିଲେ ଉପାୟ

ବାଞ୍ଛଦେବ ଦୋମେ କ୍ରୟ, ଗୋରାଞ୍ଜ ତୋମାରଇ ହୟ, ନହିଲେ କି ଦେଖା ପାଓ କାଯ୍ ॥

don't trouble me.' And thus I turned him away."<sup>1</sup>

The legend of Kṛṣṇa has thus been vivified, and the human and spiritual interest of it has developed, being constantly fed by the incidents of living history.

The Gaurachandrikā prepares a spiritual atmosphere for the audience. The emotions of one who was mad after God are emphasised, so that they might serve as a key-note to Rādhā Kṛṣṇa-songs which, viewed in this light, assume a symbolical significance, even in their sensuous descriptions. I have said in a previous lecture that the Vaiṣṇavas have spun out intricate details of tender emotions in their Alankāra Čāstrās—the poetries, as Dr. Jacobi would call them. There are altogether 360 such emotions defined and illustrated in the Ujjahnilamani to which reference has already been made. Some of the main divisions, such as ‘the dawn of love,’ ‘the rapture,’ ‘the pain of God’ and ‘the spiritual marriage,’ which St. Teresa and other mystics of Europe have described, are almost the same as is in the Bengali classifications, with this difference that the niceties introduced in Bengali are hundred

<sup>1</sup> শুন ব্রজরাজে, অপমেতে আজি দেখা দিয়া গোপাল কোথায় দুকালে।

ধৈন সে চক্ষল টানে, অঞ্চল ধরিয়া কানে, জননী দে ননী দে ননী বলে॥

যত কানে বাছা বলি ‘সর’ ‘সর’ আমি হত্তাগিনী বলি সর সর।

(বোলাই) নাহি অবসর, কেবা দিবে সর, অমনি সবু সবু বলি ফেলিলাম ঠেলে।

times greater. ‘The dawn of love’ and other divisions have each of them many sub-headings, and hundreds of old songs are attached to each by way of illustration of all its minutest shades. When the Kīrtaniyā, or the head-singer of the Kīrtana-songs, takes up a subject for his night’s performance, he selects as many songs of a group as he can sing within six or seven hours, and commences with a Gaurachandrikā descriptive of the particular emotion which is the subject of the night.

Of the Gaurachandrikās that I have quoted Nos. 5, 8, 9, 10 and 11 belong to the group of the ‘dawn of love’—the Purva-rāga.

The clang of *Kartāla* (cymbals) and the dull beat of *Khol*, which has however a heart-moving effect, is continued for some time. The deafening noise drives away all other thoughts and the audience expectantly looks for some higher music. Gaurachandrikā is next introduced. The

The Gaura-  
chandrika and the  
*Kīrtana* so-

singer does not consider his task finished by singing the songs.

Each line—each word of them—he explains by rhymed commentaries made by some earlier master, which was also learnt by rote by the singer when he committed the songs to his memory. The poetical import of each word is analysed with its bearing on Chaitanya’s life, till history, theology and poetry are mingled together and the musical flow of the whole makes the

audience rapt. *Kīrtana* is unlike all other music. It is a continued source of inspiration in Bengal owing to the great life of Chaitanya which nourishes it with idealistic poetry. The atmosphere created is one of renunciation, of equality for all men, of love that lights its unflickering flame for illuminating the dark corners of life, of pursuing one's highest good, of giving away oneself to the cause of the beautiful, of the sublime and of the good. The music around the Gaurachandrikā swells and grows in volume, till like the sea it surrounds the audience, separating themselves from the visible world. It leads them to a superior plane creating pathos which draw from their eyes silent tears of exalted emotions.

It often happens that some one amongst the audience, unable to support his emotion, silently joins the singers and dances for joy. I have seen good scholars do so. In fact the attention of the audience is captivated to such an extent that they are often found to forget their dinner-hour and the most urgent business.

When Gaurachandrikā has been sung, the main-singer begins to sing the songs of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Sensuous matter loses then its indecency, being drawn on parallel lines with Chaitanya's emotions, which interpret them in a new light. The songs are thus given a suggestive importance which takes away from them all the grossness which cursory reading may find in them.

Amongst the names of a large number of *kīrtana* singers of the time of Chaitanya, we may mention some. At the head of Kīrtaniyās, the companions of Chaitanya, stands Narahari Some of the *kīrtana* singers of Chaitanya's time Sarkar of Črikanda, Črīvasa and Vāsudeva Ghoṣa, Vāsu Datta and Mukunda Datta of Nadipā. References to their wonderful power of singing are to be found in all important biographies of Chaitanya. Bakreṇwara pleased all by his wonderful dancing. They were all saintly people, good scholars and devoted to Chaitanya. Their music and dance in *kīrtana* performances belonged to a higher plane, answering the glowing exhortations of the Psalms.

"Let them praise His name in the dance, let them sing praises unto Him with the timbrel and harp. Let the floods clap their hands. From the rising of the sun until the going down of the same, the Lord's name is to be praised."

Chaitanya's life is important to the students of the history of Bengal, owing to the great bearing on the subsequent social evolutions that took place in the country. To those who are spiritually inclined his life is of a never-ending interest like that of the Buddha or of Čankara, showing some of the greatest features of religious activity and development in India. To the poets the dream-like charm of his life is a source of constant delight. His whole life is now a song,

sung in the streets and in the country side. It is an epic-poem formed of the sweet lyrics of Gaurachandrikās which are on every *kirtana* singer's lips. The poetry of his romantic life is spread like the flowers that spring on the grassy meadows, all over Gangetic valley. The weaver sings it as he spins his thread, and the ploughman fills the whole air with the pathos of his lament over Chaitanya's desertion of home.

A beautiful story illustrative of the popular devotion for Chaitanya was related sometimes ago by Mr. Kshitimohan Sen, Head Master of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's School at Bolpur. While at Nadiyā, he heard that in a small neighbouring village *kirtana* songs accompanied by the play of Khol and cymbals were sung there every night from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. There were two bands of musicians, one singing and playing till 12 A.M. and the other for the rest

An example of popular devotion for Chaitanya. of the night. For these four hundred years, generations of villagers of that small locality have kept up an uninterrupted course of musical play in the village. The reason of this is that Chaitanya had once paid a visit to that village before taking Sannyāsa. The little village resounded with *kirtana* songs, proclaiming its gladness at the event. When he was about to leave the place, the villagers begged of him to pay

them to visit again and Chaitanya, it is said, promised that he would do so at some future time. They formed from amongst themselves two bands of *kirtana* singers to keep up the continuity of the songs till he returned. That blessed day never came. But they have kept up an unceasing flow of music night after night during these long generations, believing that he will come once more and visit their village. For the words of one whom they knew to be God himself could not but be fulfilled.

#### XVII.—*The four sects of the Vaiṣṇavas.*

The Vaiṣṇavas are divided into four sects : viz Māddhi, Sanaka, Rudra and Črī. Māddhāchārya (born 1911 A. D.) was the founder of the Māddhi sect. He was the son of a Brahmin named Maddhageha, an inhabitant of Tājikakṣetra, a village close to the town of Uḍipī in the country known as Tulava in the Deccan. The town stands on the river Pāpanācīnī which is only two miles and a half from the sea. As a child Māddhāchārya was called Vāsudeva and adopted the name of Ānanda-tīrtha when he was only 9, on the occasion of his taking Sannyāsa. His Guru was a Brahmin, named Achyutapracha of the Sanaka family. Māddhāchārya received his early education at the Anantēcwara temple of the Deccan. His

Māddhi.

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Mādhyachārya.

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commentary on *Brahmasūtra* is a standard authority and guide to his sect. Besides this, he embodied his higher philosophical views in a work called the "Pūrṇaprajnādarśana." The next revered name among the Mādhhī sect  
Jaya Tīrtha. is that of Jayatīrtha, standing 5th in the list which will be subjoined below. He was initiated in the ascetic's career while yet a child in 1245 A.D. He wrote the following works in Sanskrit:

- (1) *Tattwaprakāṣikā*
- (2) *Nyāyadīpikā*
- (3) *Tattwasankhya Natikā*
- (4) *Upadhikhandana*
- (5) *Upadhikhandanātikā*
- (6) *Māyārāhukhandana*
- (7) *Tattwanirṇaya Tīka*
- (8) *Çudha.*

Jayatīrtha died in his 46th year. His earthly remains were buried at Malkhedgate—now a railway station in Southern India.

From Sanaka there was evolved a sect of  
Sanaka. which Nimbāditya was the leader in later times. His name was Bhāskarāchārya and he obtained the title of Nimbāditya, it is said, owing to Nimbāditya.  
Nimbāditya. his having secured the favour of Āditya, the sun-god, who appeared through a Nim tree one evening, so that the saint might take his meal, his vow having been to eat it in the day-time only. It is said that the literature of this sect in Sanskrit and Hindi was burnt by Aurangzeb. Some of their religious views are remarkably lofty and rational, and bear a

close affinity to Christianity. "Many of them" says Mr. Growse, "are pious, simple minded men leading such a chaste and studious life, that it may charitably be hoped of them that in the eye of God they are Christians by the baptism of desire."

Viṣṇuswāmī's follower Vallavāchārya became in the 16th century the reputed leader of the Rudra Order of Vaiṣṇavas. He

Rudra. was a Drāvidian Brahmin—a contemporary of Chaitanya—born in a village called Kakuraparahu near the Railway station Nidada Bhelu in the Vallavaehārya. Decean.

His father's name was Lakṣmana Bhatta. At Kakuraparahu there is a temple marking the spot where Vallabhāchārya was born. He wrote a commentary on the Brahma Sūtra and called it *Vallabha Vāsyā*. His commentary on the *Çrimad-bhāgavata* is an authoritative work to the people of his sect. Vallabhāchārya lived for a considerable time at Gokul and was known as Gokula Gossāin 'The preceptor of Gokul'. Some of the anecdotes relating to his interview with Chaitanya at Puri are described in detail in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*. It appears that while revering the Master, Vallabha was proud of his learning and had little regard for his companions. Vallabha flattered Chaitanya, saying that he had for a long time cherished a

desire of seeing him and that he considered himself blessed at having seen Meets Chaitanya. him at last. "Nowhere was seen" he said "an apostle of faith like yourself, the very light of whom inspires devotion to God among men."

Chaitanya, knowing that Vallabha was proud and that he slighted his companions, said "Sir, I am a very humble soul, quite unworthy of your praise. If there is any faith in me for which these encomiums are bestowed, I owe it to Advaita Āchārya who has mastered all branches of human learning - to Nityānanda who knows six schools of philosophy as few know them in India and whose His commentary. company has given me a glimpse of that higher life to which a man of such humble parts as myself could hardly otherwise have got access. There are besides Jagadānanda, Bakrevara and Gadādhara Pundit from whom I have learnt much and have yet to learn more. If you think of profiting by discussion with any one among us, it is these scholars whom I recommend to you." Vallabhāchārya had written his commentary on the Bhāgavata, as I have already mentioned, and his object in coming down to Puri was to show it to Chaitanya and have his approval. But Chaitanya had heard that this commentary was directly opposed to the one written by Ćridhar Swāmi, the greatest authority in Bhāgavata-interpretations, and

therefore avoided the request of Vallabhāchārya saying Bhāgavata is too high for me. I delight in the name of Kṛiṣṇa. The name is a poem to me and gives me joys untold. I am not a competent judge of a commentary on the Bhāgavata." Vallabhāchārya went to the different Vaiśnava worthies, whom Chaitanya had named, in order to read his commentary to them. But no one in that vast city would listen to it and he was so struck with the great learning of the scholars who admired Chaitanya and lived at Puri simply to be near him, that the proud scholar felt greatly humiliated. When he referred to his commentary again in his conversation with Chaitanya, the latter said that unless he closely followed the interpretations of the Swāmī, the commentary

The pun on the word "Swāmī." could not be acceptable to any one. Chaitanya used a pun on the word "Swāmī"—the name by which Čridhar Swāmī was generally known. Swāmī means a husband and as Vallabhāchārya's views ran opposite to his, Chaitanya said 'Your commentary is corrupt' having disregarded the Swāmī. Vallabha's pride was humbled and he took lessons in the Bhagavata afresh from Pundit Jagadānanda, one of Chaitanya's constant associates, and had to change many of his religious views.<sup>1</sup> There are at the present day numerous

<sup>1</sup> An elaborate account of Vallavāchārya's visit to Puri and discussions with Chaitanya and his companions is to be found in the Chaitanya Charitamṛta (Antya Khanda, Chap. VII.)

followers of Vallabhāchārya at Vṛndāvana. Pundit Čaratchandra Čāstrī, refers in his Bengali work ‘Rāmānuja Charita’ to the worldliness and luxury which characterise some of the people of this sect. It is said that a very rich and influential class of Southern merchants,—are followers of Vallavāchārya. And their complete surrender of themselves to the wishes of their religious preceptors—the Gokul Gosāins as they are called in Brindāvana,—form one of the characteristic features of the tenets they follow. These Gosāins are generally well-to-do and receive presents from a certain class of their disciples for every little mark of recognition.

Some of their peculiar rules. For instance the disciple has to pay Rs. 5 for permission to see his Guru, Rs. 20 for touching him, Rs. 35 for the right of washing his feet, Rs. 11 for receiving a kick from him, Rs. 60 for the privilege of occupying the same seat with him, Rs. 13 for receiving strokes from his cane. There are many other marks of recognition requiring payment of enormous fees, some of which seem to convey immoral suggestions but I abstain from quoting them here, as I am not sure how far the account of Pundit Čaratchandra Čāstrī is to be credited.

Rāmānuja is considered the most conspicuous figure among the promoters of the views represented by the Cri sect. He was born in

March 1070 A.D. in the village of Perambhudara  
 in the district Chenglat in the  
 The Cri sects. Madras Presidency. This village  
 is only 13 miles from the town of Mādras and  
 was celebrated in the pre-historic age as the  
 shrine of Bhutipura. Rāmānuja was the son  
 of a Brahmin named Keçava; his mother's name  
 was Kāntimati Devī. He took Sannyāsa owing  
 to his wife Rakshambhā's repeated violations of  
 his instructions, and we know that Jayatīrtha of  
 the Māddhi sect also left home as a Sannyāsi  
 because his wife was a shrew. Tukārāma, the  
 great Marhatta saint, suffered from the same mis-  
 fortune and left home to escape from his wife,  
 before he had distinguished himself as a saint,  
 and we shall see in future how Govinda Dāsa,  
 the devoted follower of Chaitanya quarrelled  
 with his wife Çāçimukhī and turned a Samnyasi.<sup>1</sup>  
 Sannyāsa means in popular opinion the cutting  
 of all ties with home, and the strongest  
 tie of home-life is that which binds a man  
 to his wife. It will thus be seen that one  
 of the chief reasons which led to the Sannyāsa  
 of many distinguished saints was their

<sup>1</sup> আমার নারীর নাম শব্দেগৌ হয়।  
 এক দিন ব্যাড়া করে ঘোরে কঠি ক্ষয় ॥  
 নিও খে মুখথ বলি গালি দিল ঘোরে ॥  
 মেট অপমানে পৃষ্ঠ তাজিলাম ভোরে ॥  
 চৌদশত সাত শকে বাহিরেতে ঘাটি ।  
 অভিমানে গরণ্ব ফিলে নাহি চাটি ॥

disappointment in nuptial love. But the Buddha and Chaitanya, adored in their family circle, renounced home not for any untoward domestic friction but in order to obey a higher call from their inner selves.

The Vaiṣṇava-views at the earlier epochs of their growth were marked by a hostile attitude towards Çiva, and in the 11th century they seem to have been inspired by two missions, one for subverting the Çivaite worship and another for disapproving and attacking the theory of illusion propounded by Çankara, and these we find to be the marked features of the doctrines of the Rāmānuja sect. This will be seen from what Govinda, a disciple of Rāmānuja, said after his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism from the Çivāite faith ;

“ Hail, oh lord, (Visnu) I take refuge in thee, save me from my sins. I had shunned Viçvakantha (Viṣṇu—the refuge of the world) and taken refuge in Viṣaka (Çiva—the poison-throated one) ; I had shunned Pundarikākṣa (Viṣṇu—the lotus-eyed one) and taken refuge in Birupākṣa (Çiva—the evil-eyed one) ; I had shunned the Pitāmyara (Viṣṇu—dressed in purple robes) and taken refuge in the Digāmyara (Çiva—the naked one) ; I left the heavenly garden of Tulasi plant (sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas) and preferred the bitter-juiced Haritakī (sacred to the Çaiyas.”)

The puns on the words in the above extract show the bitterness and the hostile attitude of the convert towards the creed he had forsaken.

Māddhyāchārya believed in Hari (Kṛṣṇa) and Hara (Śiva) alike. Vallavāchārya was a believer in Kṛṣṇa as the divine child—the Vāla-gopāla. Rāmānuja believed in Kṛṣṇa and Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu Swāmy in Kṛṣṇa and the Gopis.

Chaitanya, though he was initiated by a Guru of the Māddhi sect, owed but little allegiance to their tenets. His was almost a new and different creed based on mystic love with its emotional features.

#### *XLVIII. —The Gurus of the Māddhi Sect.*

As we are concerned with the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, we need not take any further notice of those who belonged to sects other than the Māddhi in which Chaitanya had inscribed his name. Māddhāchārya alias Ānanda-tīrtha as already mentioned, was the founder of this sect. The following list will show the line of successive leaders of the sect, each of whom stands in the relation of a disciple to his predecessor. This list is quoted from Gaurāṅgāṇḍadeśadīpikā, a sanskrit work written by Kavikarṇapura in 1526 A.D. A summary of this will also be found in the Bengali work, the Bhaktiratnākara.

1. Maddhāchārya (born 1191 A.D.)
2. Padnavācharyya.
3. Narahari.
4. Akṣava.
5. Jayatīrtha.
6. Jñāna Sindhu.
7. Mahāsindhu.
8. Vidhyānidhi.
9. Rājendra.
10. Jayadharma.
11. Puruṣottama.
12. Vyāsatīrtha.
13. Lākṣmitīrtha.
14. Mādhavendra Puri.
15. Iśvara Puri.
16. Chaitanya (born February, 1486).

Madhavendra Puri was the first man in the Māddhi sect whose name became honoured in the annals of Bengali Vaiṣṇavas. He was born about the year 1400 A.D. and was known by the title of Bhaktichandrodaya—the rising moon of faith. We surmise from a historical reference made in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta in its account of Mādhavendrapuri's work at Vṛndavana that he was a Bengali. It is stated that for the purpose of discharging priestly functions in regard to the image of Gopāla which Mādhavendra had established at Vṛndavana he brought two Brahmins from Bengal. Now it is well known that Bengal is

not a recognised seat of good Brahmins; at least this has been the current belief of the people of Northern as well as other parts of India outside Bengal. The fact of Mādhavendra's sending for two Brahmins from Bengal for worship of a deity held in so much popular reverence in the holy city, cannot be explained by any other reason than that of Madhavendra's having been himself a Bengali.

Two of the disciples of Mādhavendra Puri—Iēwara Puri and Advaita had a great influence on Chaitanya in his boyhood. We all know how Iēwara Puri was attracted by the scholarship and other personal qualities of Chaitanya and frequently called on the young scholar in order to impart religious instructions to him. Chaitanya was almost sceptical in his early youth

and would not listen to religious

Iēwara Puri.

advice. Iēwara Puri quoted from the holy texts in order to convince Chaitanya of the force of some spiritual points that he preached. But the young scholar detected grammatical mistakes from those texts to the great bewilderment and disappointment of the venerable man. But inspite of the frivolous jokes and light humour with which Chaitanya treated Iēwara Puri's teachings, the young scholar secretly cherished a deep reverence for the pious Vaiṣṇava. After his life had become changed, he felt an eager

desire to meet Īçvara Purī and went to Kumāra-hatta with that object. The old man had been cooking his own meal when Chaitanya arrived at his house. The ever refractory, pedantic and light-brained young scholar had become a thoroughly changed man and as he touched the feet of the revered teacher, he could not express his profound gratitude to him, his voice becoming choked with tears. When leaving Kumārahatta he passed into a trance, tying some dust of the place in the edge of his garments like a precious thing, and murmuring, ‘the dust of this spot—the birth place of Īçvara Purī is dearer to me than any riches, nay dear as life itself.’<sup>1</sup>

At Gayā, Chaitanya again met Īçvara Purī and with joined hands stood before the saintly man saying, “Blessed is my journey to Gayā, for I see you before me. \* \* \* \* You are, Sir, better than all the shrines of the world, for a sight of you cleanses the soul.”

We gather the following brief account of Īçvara Purī from the Prema Vilāsa.

He was born about the year 1436 A.D. His father was a Rājāḥya Brāhmīṇ named Ćyāmsundara Āchārya of Kumārahatta. Īçvara Purī thoroughly studied the Upanisadas in his youth and became

<sup>1</sup> “ପ୍ରତ୍ୟୁଷିତ କହେ ଶୈଥର ପୂର୍ବୀର ଜନମଥାନ ।

ଏ ସୁନ୍ଦରିକା ଆମାର ଜୀବନ ଧନ ପ୍ରାଣ ।”

The Chaitanya Bhāgavata.

an ascetic of the Māddhi sect of the Vaiṣṇavas, being initiated into that faith by Mādhavendra Purī himself.

The man generally known to be the Guru of Chaitanya was, however, Keçava Bhāratī. When Chaitanya resolved to take the vow of Sannyāsa, he happened to go to Keçava Bhāratī for initiation; the latter also belonged to the Keçava Bhāratī.

Māddhi sect and was a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. Keçava Bhāratī conducted the ritual of Chaitanya's Sannyāsa and beyond this we are not aware that he exercised any influence on the spiritual advancement of his illustrious disciple. Īvara Purī was Chaitanya's Dīkṣā-Guru who initiated him into the Vaiṣṇava faith and Keçava Bhāratī was his Sannyās-Guru, who ministered to the religious function of his Sannyāsa. Keçava Bhāratī was known as Kālināth Āchārya before he took Sannyās and was an inhabitant of the village of Kulyā in Navadvīpa. He was born in the earlier half of the 15th century and resided chiefly at Kātwā.

We now revert to Mādhavendra Purī, the fountain head from whom flowed that current of devotion which within a century and a half flooded the whole of Bengal. Many tales are told about him in the Bengali historical works of the Vaiṣṇavas. There is a significant couplet in the Chaitanya Bhāgavata attributing to him some of those beautiful trances at the sight of a cloud which we find

in a more developed form in Chaitanya. The images of Vāsudeva in black stone worshipped in the temples of Bengal had captivated the imagination of the Vaishavas of the country. The sculp-

Mādhavendra's  
trances.

tors gave to the curved lips of these images an indescribable sweetness and to the eyes a joyous expression which spoke of a world higher than the world of worry and strife which we live in. When these images were mutilated and thrown out of the temples by the iconoclasts, the worshippers, who like the sculptor described by Schiller, had actually fallen in love with the stone, felt deeply distressed. The dark blue colour of the images like the Cross of the Christian, became a sacred emblem of grief to them. The colour of the image became a reminder of their Beloved. They saw it in the dark cloud tinted with blue, in the sky, in the river, and in the *Tamāla* tree. This became to them a fountain of sacred association reminding them of Kṛṣṇa. The country bards

Mystic regard for  
dark-blue colour.

have been full of passionate panegyrics of this colour in their religious songs. The images were broken, but the memory of the colour remained. The universe shows a rich display of this deep blue colour in its mountains, its rivers and seas. Such an all pervading colour might well be made an emblem of the Deity, and in Bengal the tragic history of the mutilation of the dark blue images lent a power-

ful and pathetic association to the colour, bringing on trances and ecstasies in spiritual souls.\*

We read in the Chaitanya Charitamṛta that Mādhavendra Puri was one of the few pious pilgrims who visited the Vṛndā groves before that shrine was restored by the followers of Chaitanya. A tender and lovely legend is told in connection with this visit of Mādhavendra Puri. He went there fasting for a day, for he never begged, and unless some one brought him something to eat, he would fast and remain absorbed in his religious reveries. He sat at the foot of the hill Annakūṭa all alone, contemplating Kṛṣṇa, caring nothing of the world, when he was suddenly accosted by a boy, who if the crown of peacock-feathers had adorned his head and a flute had been in his hand, might well have passed for that Kṛṣṇa whom

\* It is curious that some of our English poets have also felt a strange liking for the blue and the dark-blue colour, almost in the spirit of a Vaiṣṇava. The following lines of Keats may be quoted as an illustration:—

“ Blue ! 't is the life of heaven—the domain  
    Of Cynthia—the wide palace of the Sun,  
The tent of Hesperus and all his train,  
The bosomer of clouds, gold, grey and dun,  
Blue ! 't is the life of waters--the Ocean  
And all its vassal streams, pools numberless,  
May rage, and foam, and fret, but never can  
Sub-side, if not to *dark-blue* nativeness.  
Blue ! gentle cousin of the forest green,  
Married to green in all the sweetest flowers  
Foget-me-not, the Blue-bell, and that queen  
Of secrecy, the Violet, what strange powers  
Hast thou, as a mere shadow ! ”

*Keat's Poems.*

*Forman, Vol. II, p. 257 (1883).*

Mādhavendra worshipped. The ascetic was struck by the lovely figure of the boy who offered him some milk and fruits. He asked the boy why he took all this trouble to come from the village side for the sake of offering him food. The lad said "I live in this village. The villagers would not allow any body to fast here. Some aseetics beg rice and bread, and others beg milk, the villagers give them, *but I give to those who do not beg of any one.*" Mādhava took the milk which was sweet and the fruits which had a heavenly fragrance. The boy vanished from the place, and Mādhavendra sat there under a tree, repeating the name of Kṛṣṇa for nearly the whole of the night, but

The strange lad  
offering milk to  
Mādhava.

towards its end his eyes closed in sleep. He dreamt a dream in which the same boy appeared to him and said "Mādhava, long have I waited for you, for you truly love me. Dig me up from yonder forest, I was thrown into a tank there by a pious Brahmin who wanted to save me from the Mahomedan invader. In time the tank was filled up and in the depth of the jungle below the upper layers of earth I am hidden

। "বালক কহে গোপ আমি এই প্রামে বসি ।  
আমাৰ প্ৰামেতে কেহ না রহে উপবাসী ॥  
কেহ অৱ মাণি থায় কেহ দুঃখাহাৰ ।  
অযাচক জনে আমি দিয়ে আহাৰ ॥"

*The Chaitanya Charitamṛta, Madhya Khanda, Chap. IV.*

"*You truly love away. I am in great pain owing to cold and heat and forest-fire.*  
 Yet know me to be the Lord of this shrine."

Mādhava woke and a strange emotion filled his mind. With tears in his eyes he related the story to the villagers next morning. They cut the jungle and dug the earth and a large and beautiful image of Kṛṣṇa was recovered from there to the great joy of all who had assembled.

The discovery of the image of Gopāla This image was brought down to the village with great pomp.

The joyous music, both vocal and instrumental, welcomed the deity and people made rich offerings to him. The women began to sing and dance. The festivity was a unique one in the annals of that locality, for the people believed that the Lord of the village had come. They bathed the image in the sacred waters of the shrines and anointed it with scented oil. By applying shell-powder and sulphur they restored it to its bright colour and then purified it by *Pañcha Garya* or the five holy things of the cow. Mādhavendra brought two Brāhmans from Bengal for the worship of the deity.

Another legend says that Mādhava dreamt one night that Gopāla, the name by which this image of Kṛṣṇa was called, again appeared to him and asked him to bring from Orissa the sweet-scented sandal wood to be found there for his adornment. The ascetic came to a place

named Remunā in Orissa. The image of Gopīnātha was the principal deity of the temple there. Gopīnātha and Gopāla, it should be understood, were the different names of the God Kṛṣṇa.

Tired with the journey and fasting, Mādhava stayed in the temple for a little while and saw Gopīnātha. He asked the priests there what were the meals offered to the God. They mentioned among other things the *kṣīra* or the condensed milk which was a special preparation there, and praised it much. The ascetic thought "If I could but once get it without seeking, I could learn how to prepare it and

The thief of the milk. offer to my god Gopāla at Vṛndāvana." As he thought so,

he was ashamed of himself for indulging in a *desire* and prayed to God for pardon. He saw the Evening Service in the Temple and saying nothing to anyone came out of it and went to rest under a tree outside the village. Mādhavendra, as it has been said, asked nothing of any one, if anything came unsolicited he ate, and if not, he fasted. He regretted again that a desire for condensed milk, even though it was for offering it to his God, had occurred in his mind and sat quietly near the market-place, singing the glories of God and striving for a union with Him.

In the noon-time the offering of rich meal was made as usual to Gopīnātha in the temple.

The doors were shut and dedicating the meal to God, the priest went out of the temple for sometime as usual. He came back and distributed the meal, first offered to the god, among the worshippers. This was what usually happened, but when the priest took his afternoon nap, Gopīnātha appeared to him in a dream and said, "I have kept pieces of the *kṣīra* tied in my outer robes for Mādhava who is one of my truest worshippers. Go and seek him from the town and offer him the food." The priest ran to the temple and was surprised to find pieces of condensed milk tied in the edge of the robe of Gopīnātha. In a voice that trembled with emotion, the priest called Mādhava by his name and ran through the streets of Remunā, till he met the venerable ascetic, under a tree in the outskirts of the town. The story was related to him and Mādhava with tears in his eyes touched the sacred food and was transported with joy. Gopīnātha stole the food for his worshipper and hence he got the name of "*Kṣīra-Chorā*," or "the thief of condensed milk." By the time the report had spread of this wonderful event and people began to gather to see the divine ascetic. But he, knowing that fame was to be avoided by an ascetic above all things as it brings pride and desire for the world's esteem, fled away in the latter part of the night to avoid men and women seeking him. Says Chaitanya Charitāmīta here "the

people followed and traced him even to Puri. For God gives fame to a good man who does not seek it. Mādhavendra lived at Puri in quiet concealment, in order to avoid fame. But fame brought him out into the light.”<sup>1</sup>

Such are some of the legends that are associated with the name of Mādhavendra Puri. They serve to establish beyond all doubt the piety and spiritual fervour of the leader of the Mādhhī sect of the age. For supernatural tales are told by the populace of India about those men only whose piety of life and devotion are unquestionable.

#### XCV. *The pedigree of Chaitanya and his wife.*

We have mentioned that Chaitanya in his early life was indebted to Īcvara Puri and Advaita for his first impulses towards the spiritual life. I have briefly described his associations with Īcvara Puri. I have also mentioned on p. 32 that Çachī, Chaitanya’s mother, made Advaita accountable for the spiritual tendencies of both her sons, leading them eventually to sever their home-ties permanently. Īcvara Puri, Advaita and Keçava Bhāratī are the three spiritual masters to whom Chaitanya owed his connection with the Mādhhī sect. If a name is to be added, we should mention that of Çrīvāsa. Chaitanya’s early education was completed at the *tol* of Gangādāsa Pandit of Vidyānagara in Nadiyā.

<sup>1</sup> Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Madhya Khanda, Chap. IV.

## PEDIGREE OF CHAITANYA (FATHER'S SIDE).

Viṣṇudhīha Miṭra,

(A Vaidik Brāhmaṇa of the Vātsayana Gōra and an inhabitant of Jajpur, Orissa)

Madhukara Miṭra.

Left Jajpur in the year 1451 for fear of Rājā Brahmavāra and settled in Dhaka Dakṣin, a village in Sylhet,  
 (according to some in Badāgaṇjāgrām in that District).

1. Upendra  
 (married Kamalavatī).

2. Rangada.  
 3. Kirtida.  
 4. Kirtivāsa.

Kansāri. 2. Paramananda. 3. Padmanāva. 4. Sarveṣvara. 5. Jagannātha. 6. Janārdana. 7. Trailokyanātha:  
*alias* Purāṇdara Miṭra.  
 (Settled at Navadvīpa about the year 1466, and married Qachī).

Eight daughters

1. Viçvarupa

(Took Sannyās at the age of 16 in 1491 A.D. and was never heard of again. He was accompanied by his cousin Lokanātha who also turned a Sanyāsi).

2. Viçvamvara,

called Kṛṣṇa Chaitanya or simply Chaitanya after his Sannyāsa, Born 18th Feb. 1486.

## CHAITANYA'S PEDIGREE (MOTHER'S SIDE).

Nilamvara Chakravarti,

(A Vaidik Brāhmaṇ who came from Sylhet and settled at Belpukuria in Nadīyā.)

1 Jogevara Paṇḍit. 2 Ratnāgīrva Bhāttāchārya. 3. Ācāhī Devi, mother of Chaitanya. 4. Nāravajiyā (Ācāhī's wife) married to Jagāmāth Miṭra  
alias Puranlāra Miṭra.

Lekanātha (who took San-  
nyās with Viṣṇavata,  
and was known as Ca-  
karāṇya Purī).

## PEDIGREE OF VIṢṇUPRIYĀ DEVĪ (WIFE OF CHAITANYA).

Durgā Dāsa Miṭra

(A Vaidik Brāhmaṇ of Nadīyā, married Bijaya Devī.)

1. Sañātana, married Mahānāyā.  
Only child Viṣṇupriyā.

2. Kuliśī, married Bihumukhi.  
Mādhava Achārya. (He was a  
pupil of Chaitanya, and  
shortly after his Sannyāsa  
translated the 10th Skandha of  
the Bhāgavata into Bengali  
verse.)

In the month of Māgha (January) 1406 Çaka (1485 A.D.) Çachī Devī conceived, and was delivered of the child Chaitanya after 13 months, in Phālguna (18th February) 1407 Çaka (1486 A.D.)

*XVII.—The tour of Chaitanya in Eastern Bengal.*

The standard works on Chaitanya's life have very briefly alluded to his tour in Eastern Bengal; the Chaitanya Bhāgavata mentions that Chaitanya visited some villages on the banks of the Padmā. He was about 22 years old at the time, and had written a commentary on a Sanskrit grammar which was read in some of the *cols* of Eastern Bengal. He had the title of Vidyāsāgara and was already a scholar of some renown in one of the most important centres of Sanskrit learning in India *rīz*: Nadiyā. But no body had anticipated his future greatness as one of the foremost of India's religious teachers, so the places he visited in his early youth were not carefully noted down by any of his contemporaries. He himself avoided fame of all kind and would not encourage any one who wished to write his biography, indulging in the interval between his trances, in talks on spiritual matters only, so that there was no opportunity for gaining information as to the incidents of his early life outside Nadiyā. We beg to add by way of a little

digression that it was his habit to conceal his great emotions so far it was possible from outsiders. We find in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta the line "if any outsider was there, he tried to collect himself so far as possible." This also was the reason "why in the midst of the public he only sang the praises of the Lord, but within the small circle of his intimate friends he indulged in the joys of sweet emotion, while discussing the minute questions of spiritual ecstasy."<sup>1</sup>

The historical account of his tour in Eastern Bengal has, owing to causes mentioned above, remained incomplete. The Prema Vilāsa in its last two and a half cantos which have been lately discovered mentions some of the places he visited, but we do not know how far the account is authentic. The Prema Vilāsa is certainly one of the most trusted historical works of the Vaiṣṇavas in the 16th and the earlier part of the 17th century. But it was up till lately

The last  $2\frac{1}{2}$  known to contain 20 cantos only.  
cantos of the Premvilāsa. The last two and a half cantos, recently added, contain matters which should be approached with caution. Whether these supplementary chapters formed a part of the original work is doubtful. But this does not altogether prove the untrustworthiness of the accounts given in them. Some of these are certainly

<sup>1</sup> অস্তরঙ্গ সঙ্গে করে রস-আধাদন।

বহিরঙ্গ সঙ্গে করে নাম-সংকীর্তন॥

well-established historical facts and whoever may have been their author, there is no doubt that they were collected with considerable trouble and possess undoubted reliability. But there are others which are open to doubt and objection. Chaitanya's tour in Eastern Bengal is a subject which we may place under the latter head. The reason of our doubt is that as Chaitanya's visit to a place would undoubtedly give it great sanctity, the people of a particular locality may be interested in enhancing its importance by producing forged records. But at the same time there is no positive proof to show that the two and a half Chapters, referred to, were not a portion of the original work. Whether they be so or no, we find it our duty to mention our doubts on this point. I will now indicate the places which Chaitanya is said to have visited in course of his tour in Eastern Bengal.

It is recorded that Chaitanya visited Sylhet. We will credit this account; for his grandfather Upendra Miṣra and his uncles still lived at Dhākā Dakṣin in that district. There is no reason to doubt that one of the objects of his touring Faridpur and Suvarnagrama, in Eastern Bengal was presumably to visit the members of his own family in their original seat in Sylhet. He is said to have first gone to Faridpur. As a confirmation of this statement, we may mention that there is a local tradition at

Kotalipāra in that district, which says that Chaitanya stayed for sometime at that village during his tour. From Faridpur he came to Bikrampur in the district of Dacca. He visited the villages of Nurpur and Suvarṇapagrām. From Bikrampur he crossed the Brāhmaṇaputra and came to a place named Egāra-  
Egāra Sondūra Sindūra. Close by was the village of Betal which he visited next. From Betal he moved to Bhitādiā which was then a seat of great Sanskrit learning. One of its most noted men of the earlier generation was Padmagarbha Āchārya.

Betal He was a great Pañdit and had married a daughter of Jayarāma Chakravartī of Nadiyā. He had learned the Upanishads at Benares and was instructed in Logic and in higher Metaphysics at Mithilā. He was besides the author of a commentary on Bhramaradīpikā, and annotated Pingala, the work on poeties in Prākrit, and made commentaries on the Brāhmaṇas. His Guru was Lakṣmītīrtha of the Māddhi sect whose disciple was Mādhavendra Purī himself. Padmagarbha's son Lakṣmīnātha Lāhirī lived at Bhitādiā when Chaitanya visited the place. As Lāhirī's mother hailed from Nadiyā, Chaitanya was naturally attracted to the place and stayed for some days with Lakṣmīnātha in that village. We all know that Puruṣottama, a step-brother of Lakṣmīnātha

took Sannyāsa and met Chaitanya at Benares and latterly became distinguished as Svarupa Dāmodara.

From the village Bhitādiā Chaitanya came to Dhākā Dakṣīṇ (or Badagaṅgā according to some) where his grandfather still lived. He met the elders of his family and he is said to have relished a jack fruit which Dakha Dakṣīṇ, his grandmother Kamalāvatī offered him. It is also said that he made a transcription of the Sanskrit work Chāndī for his grandfather's use during his short stay there.

#### *LXXXII. Chaitanya's tokens.*

The Kanthā (a cotton robe of coarse quality) which Chaitanya wore is still preserved in the temple of Purī. The pious pilgrims often

The Kantha. bribed the Pāndās for so much as a few threads or a little cotton from the sacred robe, till after these four hundred years, we find it now reduced to a mere shred a few inches in size. Chaitanya got his head shaven at the time of his Sannyāsa at Kātwā and there is a small brick memorial where his hair was buried. It is called the Keśa Samādhi or the burial place of the sacred hair. The place

The Keśa Samadhi. where he sat for shaving his head is also marked with a brick-pavement at Kātwā.

Mādhava Miçra, an inhabitant of Beleti in the district of Dacca, was the father of the celebrated Gadādhara whom we have already noticed. Gadādhara received his education at Nadiyā and was a fellow-scholar and a great friend of Chaitanya. Once upon a time Chaitanya called on his friend and found him

The Gita. copying the Gītā. Chaitanya

took the pen from him and copied a couplet. The MS. of the Gīta in Gadādhara's hand-writing bearing the transcript of a couplet by Chaitanya passed from the former's hands to those of Nayanānanda Miçra, nephew of Gadādhara and a son of Bāṇīnātha, Gadādhara's elder brother. Nayanānanda in later times settled in the village of Bharatpur in the district of Murshidābād, and the historic copy of the Gītā is still worshipped in the temple of Gopīnātha there. In one of the late exhibitions held in Calcutta in connection with the National Congress, the Sāhitya Pariṣat made an exhibit of a facsimile of the memorable page which contains the couplet copied by Chaitanya. In the latest revised edition of the Vāṅga Sāhitya Viśayaka Prastāva by Rāmgati Nyāyaratna, this facsimile has been reproduced.

It has already been stated on p. 116 that  
The oar. Chaitanya gave an oar with which he used to row his small pleasure-

boat on the Ganges and a *Gītā*, copied by himself, to Gauridāsa Sarkel. This he did about the

The *Gītā*.

year 1510, when he crossed the

Ganges, plying the boat himself, from near a village named Harinadī and came to Ambikā (Kalna) in order to meet Gauridāsa. An image of Chaitanya made immediately after this event in Nim wood by the order of Gauridāsa, and believed to be a superior specimen of the sculptor's art of that time, and an exact likeness of its model, is still worshipped in the temple founded by Gauridāsa at Ambikā. There the *Gītā* and the oar were preserved and probably exist to this day. They were positively there in 1700 A.D. when the *Bhaktiratnākara* was written. The author writes :

"The oar and the copy of the *Gītā* given by the Lord are still seen by the fortunate pilgrims near the Lord's image (at Ambikā)".

Chaitanya after his *Sannyāsa* paid a visit to  
The Sandals Barānagar, four miles to the north of Calcutta, and met Raghu-nātha who afterwards translated the *Bhāgavata* into Bengali and became known by his title of 'Bhāgavatāchārya'. The *khadam* or the sandals used by Chaitanya are still preserved in Raghu-nātha's *Pāt* (place of worship) at Barānagar. The sandals have decayed in the course of these four hundred years, and very little now remains of them.

The Bhāgavata which Pandit Gadādhara used to read before Chaitanya at Puri has disappeared but it was seen by Črīnivāsa Āchārya towards the end of the 16th century : all the letters of the book were found disfigured by the tears of Chaitanya. Gadādhara himself showed it to Črīnivāsa and other pilgrims. It naturally possessed a special sanctity. For 18 years it had been read before the Master and was a source of his inspired ecstasies. This sacred book is mentioned in many of the works of the Vaiṣṇavas in the 16th and the 17th centuries, such as the Karnānanda, Bhaktiratnakara and the Prema-vilāsa.

Many of the places, which were the favourite resorts of Chaitanya at Nadiyā, such as the courtyard of Črīvāsa,

The present Nadiyā is not what it was in Chaitanya's time.

are now in the bed of the Ganges.

But inspite of the freaks of Nature's destructive agencies, the Pāṇdās (priests) do not allow any Indian shrine to be lost or obliterated from her annals, as it is a source of immense pecuniary interest to them. They earn money from the pilgrims by pointing out the spots associated with a god or a great religious teacher. So that when the shrine goes down to the bed of a river or is destroyed by earthquake, they carry the sacred relics to a near place and give it the name of the shrine. The past traditions are thus kept up. The

topography of Nadiyā as detailed by Narahari in his *Bhaktiratnākara* in the 17th century is not identical with that of the present Nadiyā. The identifications may be assailed from a purely geographical point of view, but the courtyard of Ārīvāsa and other sacred spots are still pointed out to thousands of pilgrims who accept the account of the Pāndās with pious belief and never trouble themselves as regards the validity of their accounts. The place where Chaitanya was born at Navadvīpa, like Ārīvāsa's courtyard, was certainly submerged. It is now identified with a part of the town, called Māyāpur. This place had been called Miyāpur (the seat of Mohamedans); but the Bhaktas gave it a Hindu name in order to keep up its sanctity. If the place pointed out be really the home of Chaitanya, it is here that his five big lovely straw-roofed huts stood facing the Ganges, as described by Govindadāsa in his *Kaṭchā*.

The images of Chaitanya in Nim wood made during his life time or shortly after, are to be seen in the following places :

1. The celebrated image at Nadiyā (now enshrined in a beautiful temple), made by the order of Viṣṇupriya Devī, wife of Chaitanya, and worshipped by her after his Sannyāsa.

2. The one made by Gadādhara, during the lifetime of the Master, this is now worshipped in a temple at Kāṭwā near the *Kṛṣṇa-samādhi*, standing at the junction of the Ganges and the Dāmodara.

3. The image of Chaitanya made by Gauridāsa Pandit of Ambikā (Kālnā). This has been already referred to. It was made about the year 1510 A.D.

4. Pratāpa Rudra, the King of Orissa, had an image of Chaitanya made immediately after he passed away and made extensive grants of lands to the temple dedicated to the image at Pratāpapura.

5. About the year 1600 Narottama, son of Rājā Kriṣṇānanda Datta of Kṣeturi in the district of Rajshahi, had an image of Chaitanya made which is probably worshipped there even now. The image was called Gaura Rāya and was stolen away, immediately after it was duly installed in the Kṣeturi temple, but was subsequently recovered in a strange manner. The account is to be found in the *Prema-vilāsa*, and we shall have occasion to refer to it in my lectures as Reader to the University.

6. Chaitanya's images made in the latter part of the 16th and in the beginning of the 17th century are to be found all over Orissa and Bengal. One of these made in *Nim* wood is

worshipped in the house of Manichānd Gosvāmī at the Simla Street, Calcutta. The original seat of this image was at Khaddā, a few miles to the north of Calcutta.

In the old temples of Govindajī and Madanamohana, there are images of Chaitanya which were probably established there towards the end of the 16th century. We make no mention of the more recent images as they are innumerable. There is no important village in Orissa where Chaitanya's image is not to be found. On the wooden boards meant as covers of old Vaiṣṇava works, presented to us in the form of manuscripts written in the 16th and early 17th centuries, are frequently to be found pictures of Chaitanya and his companions, painted in lacquer. One of these has been reproduced by me in my *Typical Selections from old Bengali Literature* published by the University, and is to be found facing p. 1146.

Rājā Pratāpa Rudra is said to have a picture of Chaitanya drawn during the lifetime of the Master. This picture was made sometime between 1512-1533 and is said to have been carried to Nadiyā by Črīvāsā. From his descendants, it passed to the family of Rājā Nandakumāra of East India Company-fame and is preserved by them at their country seat of Kuñjaghāṭa in Murshidābād. A faesimile of this celebrated picture forms the frontispiece of my *History*

of the Bengali Language and Literature, but I regret to say that the reproduction has not been satisfactory. The original picture now preserved at Kuñjaghbāṭa is a remarkable specimen of old Indian painting and shows Chaitanya in an emotional attitude which powerfully appeals to the mind. The reproduction does not give any good idea of the original.

The pictures  
Another picture of Chaitanya made by the order of king Pratāpa Rudra during Chaitanya's life-time, I was told by Achyutacaran Tattvānidhi ( of Mainā, Kānāibājār, Sylhet, ) existed in a temple of Vṛndāvana. Pañdit Rādhikālā Gosvami was approached by Achyuta Bābu for a facsimile of it, but this could not be secured. The picture is probably lost.

For eighteen years Chaitanya stood by the side of the pillar known as the Gaḍūḍā Stambha resting his elbow on it for hours together every day, and beheld the image of Jagannātha from there. He dared not go further near the Temple lest the sight of the image maddened him with joy, as it had done him once, making him run in an unconscious state to the very pedestal of the image and embrace it. He could exercise no control over his feelings on such occasions. Even as he stood near the Gaḍūḍā Stambha he was all tears with joy feeling an all-absorbing

passion for the vision which was ever-glorious to him. On the Gaḍūḍa Stambha there is a mark showing the particular spot where Chaitanya's elbow had rested for hours together every day during his eighteen years of stay at Puri. In the spot now known as Črīvāsa's courtyard at Nadiyā, there is a considerable number of clay images of Chaitanya illustrating the incidents of his life. These were made nearly 200 years ago and are surely specimens of art of Kṛṣṇanagar potters.

#### XVIII.—*Chaitanya's tour in Southern India.*

The brief notices of Chaitanya's tour in Southern India that we find in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta and Chaitanya Bhāgavata are neither complete nor reliable. The Chaitanya Bhāgavata was written in the year 1573 and Chaitanya Charitāmṛta in 1581 A.D. But Chaitanya toured in the Deccan during 1509-1511. A considerable time had thus elapsed before these accounts were written. We have already mentioned that Chaitanya himself would by no means encourage any one to take notes on any incidents of his life. We shall afterwards prove that the story of Kālā-Kṛṣṇadasā's accompanying him to the Deccan is totally untrustworthy. Govinda Dāsa alone had accompanied him and he took down minute notes of what he saw. But he assures us that

he did so very privately,<sup>1</sup> for surely the Master would have resented it if it had been known to him. Govinda therefore could not give publicity to these notes. He found no opportunity of doing so. For throughout the rest of his life he was with Chaitanya night and day, and he could not possibly take a step which would offend him.

In the subsequent times Vṛndāvana became the chief seat of Vaiṣṇava learning. The six Gosvāmīs—Raghunātha Dāsa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa, Rūpa, Sanātana, Jīva and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa were the fountain-heads from whom flowed all Vaiṣṇava theology; the canons laid down in them governed Bengal and Orissa. No book that was not approved by these masters was accepted as a standard work on Vaiṣṇavism. Hence Vṛndāvana Dāsa's Chaitanya Bhāgavata, written at Denur in the District of Burdwan, was first submitted to the Gosvāmīs of Vṛndāvana who approved of it and then it was recognised as an authoritative work. Chaitanya Charitāmṛta was written in Vṛndāvana itself under the direct teachings of the Gosvāmīs.

Books written outside Vṛndāvana or without the sanction of the six Gosvāmīs could not possess the same precedence. And Govinda Dāsa who wrote the notes had another very

Why the Kādchā is not recognised as a standard book by the orthodox Vaiṣṇavas.

<sup>1</sup> “করচা করিয়া রাখি অতি সংগোপনে” Govinda's Kādchā.

strong reason to hide the work from popular notice. His Kālchā contains a brief account of himself ; he mentions in it the names of his parents and of his wife, who first appears as a shrew and then an ideal of chaste womanhood. He mentions some incidents of his own domestic life which are interesting. We find in them that when he passed by Kāñchana-nagara, as a companion of Chaitanya in the year 1509, his wife and his relations made a vigorous attempt to bring him back to worldly life. The appeal was so strong that even Chaitanya had to change his mind, and in response to the pathetic requests of Govinda's wife, desisted from giving her spiritual advice (such as on the value of resignation to the Lord's will and depending on Him alone &c) with which he had commenced, and expressed his resolve to leave Govinda at his home at Kāñchannagara. Govinda had to struggle hard to extricate himself from his family-bonds in order to accompany the Master. Under these circumstances it was but natural that he would try to remain *incognito* as far as possible on his return to Puri. To Chaitanya he was devoted as a faithful dog is to his master. We find that when he was asked by Chaitanya to go to Čāntipura from Puri with a letter to Advaita, he burst into tears. It was only a few days' absence from the service of his Master that he thought it hard to bear. He writes :—

"Hearing this order tears came to my eyes, for I could not bear a separation from the Lord."

On Chaitanya's return from the Deccan, we find Govinda to be always with him. But none of the Master's numerous biographers mentions who this Govinda was. In the *Vaiṣṇava* works of the time, we find full accounts of all the other companions and associates of Chaitanya, but while held in high esteem and called "Crī Govinda" by the *Vaiṣṇavas*, no one gives any account of the family to which he belonged nor of his native place. He is called as a Cūdra of humble origin, and in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* there is a characteristic line expressing wonder that a Cūdra should be admitted to the personal service of Chaitanya in preference to hundreds of those who belonged to the Brāhmaṇ and other high castes, anxious and willing to serve the Master. We thus see how a fable of Govinda's claim to serve the Master was fabricated. It was to give some special merit to Govinda in the eyes of the orthodox people who had rigid notions about caste, that a story was invented to the effect that he was a servant of the great Master Īcvara Puri, (the Guru of Chaitanya), and as such though he was of humble origin, Chaitanya had no hesitation in taking him to his service. This is not a good explanation and shows only the weakness of the theory. Chaitanya had absolutely

no caste-prejudices, and we cannot therefore credit the story that he took Govinda to his service simply because the latter had to a certain extent redeemed himself from the blame

The writer of the  
Kārchā and the  
famous servant of  
Chaitanya—'Grigor-  
vinda' are identical

of humble birth through serving Īśvara Purī for a time. The mysterious silence of all biographers as to where he was born

and the family to which he belonged, only proves the fact that Govinda had obvious reason for avoiding the difficulties of facing strong appeals from his wife and relations, and preferred to live *incognito* at Purī. We find that Govinda was at Nadiyā only for a few days—it may not be for more than a month. The Kādehā states that he came to Chaitanya's house in the year 1509, and within a short time of this Chaitanya left home as a Sannyāsī. He travelled with Chaitanya for two years and seven months in the Decean and then when he returned, it was not likely that the people of Nadiyā would, during their occasional visits to Purī, recognise him amongst thousands of Chaitanya's admirers, if Govinda really wanted to avoid recognition, as we believe, he did. The tale of having served Īśvara Purī may have been invented by him in order to avoid recognition. At any rate it seems possible that he had good reasons to countenance the story whoever might have fabricated it.

The services offered to Chaitanya by Govinda Karmakāra and by Govinda of the Purī-temple

are of such similar nature that we may take it, as another reason for believing that the persons were not really two, but identical.

Jayānanda, who was a contemporary of Chaitanya, mentions in his Chaitanya Maṅgala that a man named Govinda Karmakār accompanied Chaitanya in the Deccan. In a *pada* by Valarāma Dāsa, a poet of the 16th century, we find it mentioned that Govinda accompanied the master in his tour in Southern India.<sup>1</sup>

In Chaitanya Bhāgavata too, we find it mentioned that one Govinda was a companion of Chaitanya at Nadiyā, though in a work written 63 years after the events described, we may not expect the chronology of events to be always faithfully observed.

I have tried to explain why Govinda Dāsa's Kaḍchā, of which two MSS.—one over 200 years old, and another a little less,—were discovered by the venerable Jaygopāla Gosvāmī of Cāntipur about 25 years ago, did not gain the same amount of publicity as the other standard biographies of Chaitanya did. The Kaḍchā of Govinda Dāsa, contain references to certain actions on the part of Chaitanya which the later Vaiṣṇavas would not like to preach. Chaitanya was not an orthodox Vaiṣṇava. The line “we pay our homage to Kṛṣṇa alone, but do not blame

<sup>1</sup> See Gour Pada Tarangini edited by Jagat Baḍhu Bhadra.

other deities, nor how to them”<sup>1</sup> became the canon of the later Vaiṣṇavas. The worship of Kāli was to them a hideous practice: The incident related in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta about the articles of Kāli worship being thrown at the gateway of Črīvāsa, was believed to be such a grave offence that the Brāhmaṇa Gopāla who did it is said to have been afflicted with leprosy for it. We find, however, in the Kāḍehā that Chaitanya was affected by ecstasies and trances before every temple. The devotional fervour that he showed in the temple of Aṣṭabhujā (Kāli) was remarkable. To Chaitanya’s eyes, which saw the clear vision of God everywhere, nothing was there in the world which could not inspire him with devotion. A tree, a leaf, a river and the sea all raised him to mystic trances, serving as a reminder and a token of his Beloved, and he was deeply affected by any temple which men had erected for the purpose of worship. The sectarian Vaiṣṇava of later times would not care to emphasise these little incidents in Chaitanya’s life and hence they did not give publicity to the Kāḍehā of Govinda Dāsa, which inspite of the indifference by which it was treated by the Vaiṣṇavas and by the author himself, is a noble work on Chaitanya. True, it does not record any learned discussions of Chaitanya with his opponents. Govinda was not

himself sufficiently learned to be able to do so; but the book shows us the Master as he appeared to his own contemporaries. It gives besides a first hand account of nearly three years of Chaitanya's life, full of freshness and of the vivid colour of personal observation.

The latter part of Govinda Dāsa's life, if he is indeed identical with Cri Govinda of Puri, will be found in the Madhya and Antya Khaṇḍas of the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, and we need scarcely mention them here as they are too well-known to the readers of that work.

I give below a brief summary of the account given by Govinda Dāsa. Nowhere else in the Vaiṣṇava works do we find such a true and vivid account of Chaitanya as in the pages of his faithful attendant. The places visited by Chaitanya in southern India are given in detail in this account.

Govinda Dāsa's father's name was Īyāmādāsa; his mother was Mādhavī; his wife was Čaṭīmukhī. They belonged to the blacksmith's caste and were residents of Kāñchana-nagara in the district of Burdwan. Govinda Dāsa quarrelled with his wife and left home, one winter morning,

in Çaka 1430 (1509 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> He came first to Kātwā and there he heard of Chaitanya. He felt an ardent desire to see the Master who was only 23 years old at the time. For the whole day Govinda Dāsa travelled across the corn-fields and crossing the Ganges, the next morning, arrived at the landing Ghāṭ called the Miçra's Ghāṭ at Nādiyā. On the right ran the small river Bāgdevī. The courtyard of Črīvāsa was very close to the Miçra's Ghāṭ and near it was a large tank called the Ballālasāgara. On one side of it lay the ruins of the palace of that king. Govinda took his seat at the Ghāṭ, where he saw Chaitanya for the first time. The latter with his companions, among whom was the venerable Advaita, with beard and hair all hoary with age, had come to bathe there. Govinda was charmed at seeing the Master. He became a willing servant in Chaitanya's house where he saw Çachi Devī "of short stature and a quiet temperament" and Viśṇupriyā "a coy girl just risen to womanhood, always busy in serving the Lord." Govinda

বন্ধুমান কাকননগবে মোর ধাম ।  
 শ্যামদাস পিতৃ নাম গোবিল মোর নাম ॥  
 শপ্ত হাতা বেড়ি গড়ি জাহিতে কামার ।  
 মাধবী নামেতে হয় জননী আমার ॥  
 শামার নারীর নাম শশীমূলী হয় ।  
 এক দিন ঝগড়া করি মোরে কটু কয় ॥  
 নিষ্ঠ শ মুখ বলি গালি দিল মোরে ।  
 মেই অপমানে গৃহ ছাড়িলাম তোরে ॥  
 চৌদশ ত্রিশ শাকে বাহিরেতে যাই ।  
 অভিমানে গড় গড় ফিরে নাই চাই ॥

*Kaṛchā by Govinda Dāsa.*

describes Chaitanya's house as consisting of five large and beautiful straw-roofed huts on the bank of the Ganges. He mentions the names of the followers of Chaitanya and describes their great sorrow at his proposed Sannyasa. Towards the end of the night of the last date of Pausa (January) 1481 Çaka, (1510 A.D.) Chaitanya accompanied by Govinda went to Kātwā where his followers also went on the following day. On the way, at Kanchannagar, Govinda's wife Çāçīmukhi met him and tried to win him back to the sweets of domestic life. Chaitanya could not resist her pathetic appeal and ordered his servant to give up the idea of going with him. Govinda, however, managed to run away from his wife and relations and rejoined Chaitanya some miles further on. Chaitanya's preaching

Chaitanya travels to Puri. at Kātwā and his initiation as Sannyāsi under the direction of Keçava Bhāratī are described with great force. A barber named Deva shaved Chaitanya's head on the occasion under a *Bel* tree. The traditional name given to a barber, who shaves one at the time of his Sannyasa, is 'Madhu' and it is no wonder that Deva is called 'Madhu' by some of the Chaitanya's biographers. In the song of Gopichānd written in the 11th century we find the barber who shaved the monarch at the time of his Sannyasa called Madhu.

From Kātwā Chaitanya came to Çantipura where his mother came to meet him. Chaitanya

Charitamṛta says that the Master visited Çantipura on his return from Purī. There is therefore a slight difference between two versions of the account of his visit to Çantipur. Govinda was an actual eye-witness, hence we credit his account. Crossing the Dāmodara, Chaitanya came to the house of a respectable man named Kaçi Miçra. Thence travelling towards the south he came to Hajipur and next to Midnapur, where a rich man named Keçava Sāmanta abused him as unworthy of being a Sannyāsi at such a tender age. Next Chaitanya visited Nayangarh and performed his worship before the image of Çiva there, called Dhaleçwara. Many ascetics gathered round him as he fell into one of his trances at the sight of the temple, and they became his ardent admirers. Here also two rich men named Bireçwara Sen and Bhawaniçankara Sen paid a visit to him. Bhawaniçankara was a very rich man. His officers rode horses and elephants and followed in his train. Bhawaniçankara was seated in a gold palankeen on a large tusker attended by four orderlies, each with a large silver staff in his hand.<sup>1</sup>

বীরেশ্বর সেন আর ভবানী শঙ্কর ।  
 বহু লোক মঙ্গে এল প্রভুর গোচর ॥  
 চতুর্দিলা হস্তী অথ আর বহু যান ।  
 মঙ্গে করি আইলা প্রভুর বিদ্যমান ॥  
 ভবানী শঙ্কর হয় বড় ধনী জন ।  
 শত শত লোক মঙ্গে করে আগমন ॥  
 হস্তীর পৃষ্ঠেতে ডঙ্গা বিচিত্র নিশান ।  
 চারিটা ঝপার হন্দা চলে আগমন ॥

Govinda's Kañchachā.

Chaitanya's preaching deeply affected the rich men and they listened to him with rapt attention. Thence Chaitanya came to Jaleçwara and beheld the image of Çiva there called Bilveçvara. Here he was in ecstasies of spiritual joy during many hours and met a Sannyasi who said "I do not know who you are, but it appears to me that you are the reward of my life-long austerities present before me in the flesh. Your presence has given me the holy vision for which I have striven all my life." From Jaleçwara Chaitanya crossed the Suvarnarekhā, and met Raghunātha Dasā again. Thence he visited Hariharpur, Balasore and Nilgarh. From the latter place he crossed the Mahānadī and visited Gopinātha, the image of Kṛṣṇa, known as the thief of *khir*, (condensed milk), described on p. 215. He next visited the temple of Kṛṣṇa called the Sākshi Gopāla. Here he was all emotion for a day, embracing every one whom he saw in deep joy and weeping at the sight of the image with which is associated a beautiful old legend. Next he visited the temple of Ningrāja and went thence to Ātharanalā. From here he saw the flag on the summit of the great temple of Purī. "Here is the flag of my Lord—the Lord of the universe" he said. And on entering the temple the flow of his tears was so blinding that he could not see the image through his tears. He said again and again

"I have beheld Him—yea, the Lord of the Universe is before me." He embraced all whom he met and pointed heavenward, but in his deep joy he could find no words. Inside the temple of Purī he swooned away, and the great scholar Sārvabhauma carried him unconscious to his house. He was at Purī till March 1510 A.D. at Purī for three months till the end of March, 1510 A.D. In April he started for southern India accompanied by Govinda Dāsa and a Brahmin named Kṛṣṇa Dāsa. Kṛṣṇa Dāsa was ordered to go back after he had travelled a few days, so that Govinda alone accompanied him.

Leaving Purī he came to Ālālanātha, and met Rāmānanda Ray, the Prime Minister of Rāja Pratāpa Rudra, on the banks of the Godāvari. From the latter place In Southern India Chaitanya came to Trimanda where he had a public discussion with the Buddhist monks, the Rājā of Trimanda serving as the mediator. Rāmagiri, the leader of the monks, acknowledged his defeat Conversion of Ramagiri, the leader of the Buddhists. and a large number of the Buddhists became converts to Vaiṣṇavism. The next place he visited was Tungabhadra where Dhundi Rāma Tīrtha, a proud scholar of extensive learning, came to hold a discussion with Chaitanya. Chaitanya said he would not indulge in controversy of any sort. But the

sight of his ecstasies charmed Dhundi and humiliated his pride, and he became a staunch admirer of Chaitanya. After his conversion Dhundi Rāma took the Vaiṣṇava name of Haridāsa. Chaitanya next came to a place named Siddhavateśvara

Tīrtha Rāma and where a rich young man named the two harlots.

Tīrtha Rāma came with two courtesans Satya Bāī and Lakṣmī Bāī to tempt the young ascetic and try his moral strength. Chaitanya here fell again into one of those trances which no one has described so vividly as Govinda Dāsa, and the sight of which acted with overwhelming force on his youthful tempter. Tīrtha Rāma took the ascetic's vow leaving his vast properties to his wife Kamala Kumārī. The incident of this remarkable change has been very graphically described in the Kaḍcha. Chaitanya was at Vateśvara for seven days and from there marched through a deep forest which extended over 20 miles. Crossing the forest he came to a village named Munnā in the evening. He sat under a tree at the outskirts of the village, and the people there came together in hundreds, attracted by the ardour of his faith. He sang and danced and passed into his usual trances which kept the people of Munnā transfixed to the spot, so long

as he remained. He begged of them clothes for a poor old woman who had stood begging help from

Chaitanya begs clothes for an old woman at Munnā.

him. Ramagiri, the Buddhist monk, was with him up to this time. From Munnā the Master came to Benkat. Here he had a discussion on religion with a great Sannyāsi and scholar named Rāmānanda. The latter also became a convert to the Vaiṣṇava faith. Chaitanya was at Benkata for three days. He next visited the wood of Bagulā which was the resort of a robber chief—a *Bhil*—named Pantha Bhil. There is a graphic description of how the *Bhil* and his fellow-robbers turned

Vaiṣṇavas through the influence  
of Chaitanya, giving up their  
evil calling. Leaving Bagulā he  
wandered like a mad man without tasting any  
food, and weeping for the joy of communion  
with Kṛṣṇa for three days and nights. During  
this time he spoke to no one, and tears flowed  
from his eyes incessantly. He next visited  
Girīvara where there was a large *Vela* tree  
near a temple of Čiva. A particular kind of  
delicious food named *parelā* is mentioned by  
Govinda here. Chaitanya met a Sannyāsi  
at this place who did not speak with anyone.  
Govinda Dāsa says that Chaitanya and the  
Sannyāsi communed with each other in a mys-  
terious manner. The next place he visited was  
Tripadi where he converted a Ramite Sannyāsi  
named Mathurānatha. From Tripadi he came

Visit to different shrines. to a place named Pannā Nara-  
singha. The high priest of the

The reformation  
of the robber-  
chief Bhilpantha.

temple there showed him every mark of respect and entertained him with *pānnā*—a sort of syrup which was specially prepared for offering to the deity Nara Sinha. He next came to Viṣṇu Kānchi (Kanjiveram) where he was welcomed by a rich merchant named Bhavabhuti Seth. Chaitanya was received in the temple of Laksmīnārāyaṇa at that place with high honour. Twelve miles away was another image of Çiva which Chaitanya also visited. From here he saw the Pakṣa hill at the foot of which stood the shrine of Pakṣa on the river Bhadrā. Here Chaitanya partook of a fruit named Champā. From this place at a distance of 10 miles lay the celebrated shrine named Kālatīrtha. Here was a temple of Varāha which Chaitanya visited. Going southward from the temple Chaitanya visited the Sandhitīrtha, a place of special sanctity where the rivers Nandā and Bhadrā met. Here Sadānanda Puri, a learned Brahmin, who advocated non-dualism changed his views after a discussion with Chaitanya. From this place Chaitanya came to Chāipallī (Trichinopali) and met a female ascetic of great fame named Siddheçwari. Visiting the image of Çrigālabhairavī he went to the banks of the Kāveri. He next visited the city of Nagara where there was at the time a beautiful temple dedicated to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Chaitanya stayed at Nagara for three days.

Here a Brahmin had come to assault him, taking him for a false ascetic. The people wanted to treat him severely but this Chaitanya prevented. Chaitanya thence came to Tanjore, fourteen miles from Nagore. He was shown the sacred spots, with which the city abounded, by a Brahmin named Dhaleçwara. There was a large tank in the centre of the city called Kuntikarna-pārā which struck Chaitanya as very wonderful. Close by was the hill Chandālu in which there were many Goomphās (caves) inhabited by ascetics and monks. Here a man named Bhatta charmed with the devotion of Chaitanya invited him to his house. Here he also met Sureçwara, the leader of the ascetics, in a pleasant spot, surrounded by avenues of trees, and passed some days in his company. The place was within the jurisdiction of the king Jayasingh who had exempted all ascetics from paying any tax. Chaitanya next came to Padmakota where he visited the temple of Aṣṭabhuja Chandi. The female pilgrims wept to see Chaitanya's emotions and ecstasies there and a blind old man was so much excited that he fell dead at his feet. From Padmakota Chaitanya came to Tripatra where he visited the image of Çiva called Chandegwara. The old priest Bhargadeva, who had already heard that a young Sannyāsi of wonderful devotion to God was touring in the country,

longed to have a sight of him. Lean and ragged as Chaitanya was, the beauty of his person was still considerable, his eyes which overflowed with tears at the mere mention of Kṛṣṇa's name had an irresistible charm and on seeing him the old priest Bharga fell at his feet saying, "It is for you, my saviour, that I have waited all my life. Blessed am I that I see you to-day." Chaitanya said that he was a very humble man of small merit. But admiration for him was already at its height in the locality, and thousands of people came to see him. Often we find him forgetful of the world wandering about the fields absorbed in mystic vision, while children threw dust at him, saying, "Look, there goes one mad after God." Leaving Tripāṭra he came to a forest which required fifteen days to cross and he did so in company with pilgrims and ascetics; Govinda was, of course, his constant attendant. Chaitanya came next to Ćri Rangam and visited the temple of Narasinha Deva. Here he fell into ecstasies of joy and charmed, amongst others, a very pious Brahmin named Yudhisthira who followed him for some miles when he left Ćri Rangam. Chaitanya came from the latter place to Risava Hills where he met a pious and learned ascetic named Parāmānanda Purī. He next came to Rāmanātha and thence to Rameśwara where he visited the celebrated temple of Ćiva. We find in the accounts of Govinda Dāsa, that

people of the neighbouring places gave him the name of "Hari bolā," as he cried "Hari bol" day and night and wept. The word "Hari bolā" is a purely Bengali word, at least it is not current in any of the southern dialects. Curiously, however, we find in the temple of Rameçwara an old statue of one known as "Hari bolā." It is quite probable that this is a statue of Chaitanya. The Çivaites did not like the religion of emotion that he preached, hence they were not very favourably disposed towards him. The legend current in the locality is that this 'Hari bola' was an *asura*. In Bengal also one of the Çaiva *tantras* has called Chaitanya an incarnation of Tripurāsura. A learned Sannyāsi in the Rameçwara temple challenged Chaitanya to a discussion and yielded like many others to the great fascination of his inspired speech and devotion. Chaitanya stayed at Rameçwara for three days and at Maddhivana he met a Yogi—an old and venerable looking man—who seated on a rock, merged in communion with God, ate nothing for days together nor opened his mouth. Chaitanya stood with joined hands soliciting the favour and blessings of the sage; whereupon he opened his mouth for the first time after long years and greeted Chaitanya with the mysterious words "*Chambani Cīngūri*." The other ascetics present there fell at Chaitanya's feet in great admiration as their venerable senior had spoken to him as he had

done to none else for years. From Maddhivana Chaitanya came to Tattwakunda and thence to the banks of the river Tāmraparṇī. He stayed here for fifteen days and left it on the full moon day of Magh 1433 Čaka (February 1511 A.D.). Crossing the Tāmraparṇī he arrived at Kanyākumāri (Cape Comorin). At the sight of the sea which in the words of Govinda Dāsa "had nothing

At the sight of the sea.

striking to see yet everything wonderful there"! Chaitanya's

frenzy knew no bounds. He seemed to see the Unseen and the illimitable in shape before him. Chaitanya joined a band of Samyāsīs and marched with them to the Santhal hills—a distance of 30 miles from Kanyā Kumari. There Govinda looked worried and pale having had nothing to eat for the whole day. But Chaitanya while fasting was as cheerful as ever in the joy of divine communion and sang songs, while the Samyāsīs surrounding him played on cymbals. A merchant unexpectedly came there with the offer of a good meal of which the Samyāsīs partook, Govinda thanking God for it more than any one else. Through the hilly tracts they came to Trivancore of which the reigning king was then Rudrapati. On hearing of the fame of Chaitanya which had spread throughout the Deccan by that time, Rudrapati

<sup>1</sup> "দেখিবার কিছু নাই তথাপি মোহন।"

sent a man inviting him to his palace. Chaitanya refused to go there. Whereupon

Rudrapati, the Raj of Trivancore, the king himself came to him apologizing for having made the request.

Rudrapati was deeply versed in the Bhāgavata literature and found in Chaitanya a manifestation of those signs of devotion which made a man adored as a God. The king shed tears in deep spiritual joy and Chaitanya embraced him saying "He who sheds tears, at the name of God is dearer to me than life." Chaitanya stayed there a fortnight and saw the Rāmagiri hills on which stood the temple of Rama and Sītā. Thence he proceeded

Rāmagiri and other shrines to Payoṣṇi where he visited the temple of Īśvara Narayāna. Here

he met and defeated a scholar who believed in the tenets of Çāṅkara. He was in the temple of Singari at the time. Chaitanya next went to Matsatīrtha and next to Cachāra where there was a temple of Durgā. From this place he marched towards the bank of the river Bhadra which branches off from the Kṛṣṇa. From this place he proceeded to Nāgapanchapadi where he stayed for three days. Thence crossing the Tungabhadrā he came to the hill called the Kotgiri from where flows the river Kāveri. Chaitanya proceeded from here towards the south leaving on the left the hill Satyagiri which looked like a blue painting on

the horizon. He came next to Chandipur. It was here that the celebrated ascetic and scholar Içwara Bhārati challenged him to a controversy but afterwards acknowledged Chaitanya to be his superior in every respect. So ardently did he

Içwara Bharati. long for Chaitanya's company that the latter with difficulty

dissuaded him from his resolve to accompany him throughout the rest of his tour. Bhārati however went with Chaitanya for many miles till he could be persuaded to return. Leaving him Chaitanya penetrated into the depth of hilly lands where he wandered for two days unable to find his way out of the forest. At one place rows of Kadamba trees met his eyes and he was mad with joy owing to the associations of the sacred tree with Kṛṣṇa. "There goes my

flute-singer Kṛṣṇa" he cried and

Further South in ecstasy ran after the vision that he saw, with tears in his eyes, and Govinda knew not how to bring his frenzied Master to his senses. Emerging at last from the forest they came to a small village where a poor Brāhmaṇa was struck with his appearance and asked him to be his guest. The Brāhmaṇa said "It may be that I see in thee my Kṛṣṇa in the flesh, else why does a flash of lightning seem to emanate from your person?" For the whole night Chaitanya sang the praises of Kṛṣṇa in the small courtyard of the Brāhmaṇa's house where the

little village had gathered to witness the beauty of his emotions and ecstasies. Afterwards they said "This little courtyard is sacred to us today as Vṛndāvana." From this little village Chaitanya came to a place called Kandara commanding the view of the beautiful Nīlagiri (lit. the blue hills). Govinda gives here a very eloquent description of this hill. In the morning Chaitanya came to the city of Gurjara. The city was a flourishing one at the time. Here Arjuna, a learned Pundit, again touched on controversial theological topics, but Chaitanya's mind was elsewhere ; without listening to him he yielded to his 'divine frenzy'. He cried aloud "Oh Kṛṣṇa, oh my Lord" and tears flowed from his eyes and a halo was seen round his head.

To Gurjara

With songs and speech full of devotional fervour, he became the centre of a charmed multitude. The Marhattas were taken by surprise at his wonderful display of devotion,—the women wiping away their tears with their draperies as they heard him speak in his ecstasy of spiritual joy.<sup>1</sup> Some-

१ एउ बलि कृष्णहे बिलिया ढाक दिल ।  
मे शान अमनि येन बैकोऽहैल ॥  
शुद्धिल वाय त्वे बहिते लागिल ।  
दले दले प्रामा लोक आसि देखा दिल ॥  
छाउल पञ्चोर गक्क बिमोहित करि ।  
अज्ञान हटीया नाम करे गोरहरि ।  
एड एड महाबास्त्र आसि दले दले ।  
नमिते लागिल नाम भिलिया सकले ॥

times Chaitanya spoke in Tamil (he had acquired that language in the course of his tour) and at others in Sanskrit. From Gurjara Chaitanya travelled to Poona. For seven days he was mute and scarcely ate anything. On the way to Poona he ascended the Bijapur hills, and thence proceeded northward towards the

The Sahyā hills. Sahyā hill. It was a noble mountain scene which struck the

pilgrims with its solitary grandeur. In Chaitanya it gave rise to great emotion and he ran mad with joy, seeing the vision of Kṛṣṇa there. He came to Poona where he stopped near an artificial lake called the Achhasara under the shade of a large Bakula tree. Poona is described as a great centre of Sanskrit learning where the Gita and the Bhāgavata were exclusively studied by a considerable number of scholars. Chaitanya here found a congenial element and went into his inspired ecstasies

A black sheep. again and again, as the scholars discussed Bhakti. There was among them a certain materialistic Brāhmaṇa who believing Chaitanya to be insane, told him that Kṛṣṇa himself was in the lake. As he pointed to the water, the mad prophet of Nadia

ପଞ୍ଚାଂ ତାଗେତେ ମୁହି ଦେଖି ତାକାଇୟା ।  
ଶତ ଶତ କୁଳବୁ ଆଛେ ଦୌଢାଇୟା ।  
ତକ୍ତି ତରେ ହରି ନାମ ଶୁଣିଛେ ମକଲେ ।  
ନାରୀଗଣ ଅଫଜୁଳ ମୁଢିଚେ ଝାଚଲେ ।

Kaṭhā by Govinda Dasa.

looked down into it with a look full of love, and when the Brahmin repeated his jest, Chaitanya suddenly jumped into the lake and became unconscious. Many people at once went to his help, and pulled him out of the water where he would have been drowned, but for their timely assistance. They censured the sceptical Brāhmaṇa strongly, but Chaitanya regaining consciousness, said gently, "Why do you censure him, friends, it is true that the Lord is everywhere, in the land and water alike. Blessed is he for he saw Him there and I a beggar of His mercy that I am, sought Him in vain" and as he said this, he wept in deep emotion. At Poona he heard from a Brāhmaṇa

At Poona

named Tannu that there was a

temple of Çiva called Billeçwara near Gourghat at the city of Patās. At the foot of the temple a fair was held annually. And Chaitanya visited Çiva and the fair which was being held at the time and proceeded thence to Devaleçwara. At some distance from the latter place lay the city of Jejuri. Khāndava was the god of the temple there and parents used to offer their daughters to that deity. These daughters called themselves 'wives of Khāndava' and led unholy lives and the pilgrims were often enticed by these wretched women, known in

The Murāris

the locality as the 'Murāris.'

Chaitanya, when he saw them, felt

a deep compassion for them and said to Govinda "How cruel are the parents of these girls, Govinda? How have they the heart to offer their own children to Khāndava to lead vicious lives?" He went to the Murāris himself, though Govinda did not like his going there.<sup>1</sup> The most conspicuous among the Murāris was Indirā Devī, and as Chaitanya held a sweet discourse full of spiritual fervour with the unfortunate women, they felt a thrill of repentance and an ardent desire to reform themselves. Indirā Devī particularly was greatly moved. She eventually left the city as an anchoress. Chaitanya next visited the Chorānandi forest where dwelt the Brāhmaṇa robber Nāroji—an old man of sixty. He met Chaitanya when he was in one of his trances, which suggested to the bewildered eyes of the wicked Brāhmaṇa, the beauty of heaven itself. The old robber threw away his weapons, deserted his band and followed Chaitanya as an ascetic. Govinda Dāsa's description of the change that came over Nāroji is a vivid one. The ex robber-chief undertook

<sup>1</sup> Govinda wanted to avoid these women out of moral considerations. But Chaitanya, "the saviour of the fallen" ("Patita Pāvaka") was ever swayed by compassion and had hatred for none. The moral caution, suggested by Govinda in the following words of his, shows how ardent he was to keep the reputation of Sannyasī's vow unspotted in the eyes of the people.

मृहि बलि मे श्वानेते गिया काज नाहि ।  
ना शुनिला मोर बार्गी चैतन्य गोसाइ ।"

Kaṭāchā.

to show Chaitanya all the shrines on that side  
Conversion of Naroji, the robber-chief. of the country, saying to him with tears of repentance that every spot there was made familiar to him by the exigencies of his vicious calling.

From the depth of the Chorānandi forest Chaitanya emerged accompanied by Govinda and Naroji and proceeded towards Khandala, a village on the river Mūlā. The people of Khandala were so hospitable that they quarrelled among themselves over their rival claims of entertaining their guest. "I saw him first" one of them would say, when another gave him the lie and often the quarrel, that ensued, resulted in a hand to hand fight.<sup>1</sup> Chaitanya stood quiet and would not go to any one's house, though so many were eager to have him.

Khandala. A rich man offered him fine clothes and a good meal. Chaitanya said "These two men with me have got alms given by some poor people. So I do not need your presents. The whole world with all its glories will pass away like a dream and you

<sup>1</sup> "ଏହି ଆତିଥେସ ହ୍ୟ ମତ ପଣ୍ଡିଯା ।  
 ଟାନାଟାନି କରେ ମବେ ଅଭ୍ୟରେ ଲଟ୍ଟୀଯା ।  
 ଅବଶ୍ୟେ ମକଳେ ବିବାଦ ବାଧାଇଲ ।  
 ଶୁମାର୍ଗନି କରିବାବେ ଅଶ୍ଵତ ହିଲ ॥  
 ଏକ ଜନ ବଲେ ମହି ଆଗେ ଦେଖିଯାଚି ।  
 ଶାବ ଜନ ବଲେ ଆମି ଭିକ୍ଷା ଆନିଯାଚି ॥"

and I shall be nowhere, my friend. Only the Nasik. Lord will be there. I seek Him and not rich food or clothes."<sup>1</sup>

So saying he closed his eyes from which fell tears of spiritual ecstasy, while Naroji sat by him in mute wonder. Chaitanya next visited Nāsik and Trimukha and then came to Panchavati.

of God and he closed his eyes, while his face glowed with radiance. Govinda said that as he saw him in that condition he was struck by the sight, and thought that he saw a god. Chaitanya proceeded thence

Damana. to Damana and still further north where wandering for fifteen days he came to the Suratha. ancient city of Suratha. The

Goddess Aṣṭabhuja was there, it is said, established by Raja Suratha himself. Here an ascetic asked him how God should be loved. Chaitanya said "Just as an ordinary woman when she falls in love with a handsome youth yearns for him so may the soul yearn for

<sup>1</sup> Chaitanya then advised the rich man to distribute his presents among the poor people who needed help. He said,

এই যে ব্রহ্মাও তুমি দেখিছ নয়নে ॥  
কোথায় চলিয়া যাবে ভেবে দেখ মনে ॥  
বিলাস বিভব সব বিলুপ্ত হইবে ।  
কেবল ব্রহ্মাগুপতি বিরাজ করিবে ॥  
—বহু থাদ্য লয়ে বল কি হইবে ।  
দরিদ্র দুঃখীরে দেহ অভাব পূরিবে ॥

Him. This is the mystery of spiritual love.”<sup>23</sup> At this time a Brāhmaṇa came there, with the offering of a goat for a sacrifice to the goddess. Chaitanya’s teachings made him alter his mind and he set the goat at liberty. From Suratha Chaitanya came to the bank of the river Tāpti, where he visited the temple of the god Vāmana. The city of Bharoch (Broach) on the Narbadā had a sacred altar famous for centuries and Chaitanya visited it. Next he came to Baroda. There was a temple of Dākarji to the east of the town, to which Chaitanya paid a flying visit and then came to the town proper. The Rājā of Barodā is described as a pious prince who paid his respects to Chaitanya. Here Naroji got fever and died. And Govinda begged

At Baroda alms for burying the dead.

Chaitanya sang the praises of the Lord over the grave of the deceased for the whole night. From Baroda Chaitanya went in a western direction and crossed the Mahānadi and reached Ahamabad. The town was a very flourishing one but Chaitanya did not go to any one’s house though many wished to entertain him. He stayed near a public garden named Nandinī. An ascetic who was deeply read in the Bhāgavata realised

ମୁଦ୍ରର ନାୟକ ଦେଖି ସାମାନ୍ୟ ନାହିଁକା ।  
ଯେଇ ଭାବେ ଦେଖେ ତାରେ ହୟ ବାଗାଞ୍ଚିକା ॥  
ମେଇ ଭାବେ କୃଷ୍ଣକେ ଡାକହେ ବାର ବାର ।  
ଆପନି ଘୃତ୍ୟା ଯାବେ ମନେର ଆୟଧାର ॥

Chaitanya's purity and told the people of the town that he was a remarkable man. Many came to see him and Govinda Dāsa says that he could not understand their speech. "As the Master however had picked up different dialects in the course of his tour he talked with them. I could

Crosses Gubura-  
mati and reaches  
Dwārakā.

only gather facts from the Master.

But this I did not dare to do often.

I took my notes privately from what I learnt in this way." Chaitanya addressed the multitude who had assembled at Ahmedabad to receive instructions from him and thence proceeded further west reaching the river Subhrāmatī which he crossed and arrived at Dwārakā. Here they met two Bengali pilgrims—Govinda and Rāmacharaṇa of Kulin-gram Vasu family. They were great admirers of the Master, and Govinda Dāsa writes : "Meeting Bengalis after a long time, my heart felt a thrill of delight."<sup>22</sup> The four came to a village named Ghogā where lived the celebrated courtizan named Bāramukhi. Her beauty was

"না পারি লোকের বুলি সমস্ত বৃক্ষিতে ।  
যাহা পারি তাহা লিপি আকাশ ইঙ্গিতে ॥  
এই দেশে শীর্ঘ পর্যাটিয়া দীর্ঘ কাল ।  
সকলের বুলি বুঝে শটীর তলাল ।  
হৃষি চারি বাত কচু অভূতে পৃথিয়া ।  
কড়চা করিয়া রাখি মনে বিচারিয়া ।  
যেষৎ লীনা দেশিলাম আপন নয়নে ।  
কড়চা করিয়া রাখি অতি সঙ্গেপনে ॥

Kaḍachū

"বষ্ট কাল পরে গৈরবাসীরে দেখিয়া ।  
আনন্দে মানস যেন উঠিল নাচিয়া ॥" Kaḍ·chā.

great and the wealth she had accumulated was immense. A vivid and interesting description is given of her adopting the vow of asceticism under the influence of Chaitanya. She bestowed all her wealth on her maid servant Mīrā, and thenceforth followed the pious life of a Vaiṣṇavī. Nābhāji, the author of the Hindu Bhaktamāla, describes the career of Bāramukhi, but as Chaitanya's stay was short his name was not remembered in the locality in later times. Nābhāji says that by the influence of a great Sādhu her life was changed. It is from Govinda Dāsa that we learn the manner in which her life was so changed and that it was Chaitanya himself who converted her. Here also a sceptical and wicked Brāhmaṇa named Bālājī, who had at first abused Chaitanya and tried to assault him, afterwards became one of his most humble admirers. From Ghogā Chaitanya started for Jaffarabad which he reached in three days. From the latter place it took Chaitanya six days to come to Somanātha. The ruined temples and the remnants of its ancient splendour filled Chaitanya with grief and he gave free expression to his feelings, when suddenly a Sannyāsi, who looked like the god Civa himself, came and lifted his hands to bless Chaitanya. The latter ran to meet him. But he said a word or two to Chaitanya, which Govinda could not understand,

and disappeared. The three companions of Chaitanya could not ascertain where the *Sannyāsi* went. Chaitanya smiled at their questions about the latter without saying anything, and walked three times round the temple of Somanātha. A *pāndā* (priest of the temple) came and wanted something from Chaitanya who said he had nothing to give ; whereupon Govindacharanya of Kulingrāma paid the *pāndā* two Rupees. From Somanātha the party went to Junāgada where they stayed two days and visited the temple of Rosanji. Chaitanya stayed here in the house of a Brāhmaṇa named Mīraji. From there the four started for the Grinar hills. At the foot of the hills lay Bharga Deva, the leader of a sect of

local *Sannyāsis*, very seriously ill, attended by his companions

The Grinar Hills. who all looked sad. Chaitanya prescribed *nim* juice for him which cured Bharga Deva. After his restoration to health he not only felt grateful to Chaitanya but was so moved by his spiritual life that he accompanied him on his tour. They reached a high point of the Grinar hill where Chaitanya was shown the foot-prints of Kṛṣṇa. Here the vision of God came again and again and he was in trances of ecstasy and devotion for days together. Descending from the hill the five came to the bank of the river Bhadrā, crossing which they came to a forest named Dhanantari Jhāri.

Here a peculiar fruit of the *Kāmrāngā* species is described by Govinda as being of a very sweet and delicious taste. Chaitanya with his four companions and a number of Sannyāsis wandered in the depth of the forest for seven days, after which they arrived at Gopītalā in Amarāvati which local tradition identified as the ancient

shrine of the Prabhāsa. Chaitanya

Prabhāsa

gave an address to the people of Amarāvati with tears in his eyes, asking them to love God with their whole soul. They responded and sang the praises of God but said

“You sir, you look like the god  
Amaravati you speak of.” At Amarāvati

he was for three days and reached Dwārakā on the 1st of Aswin, 1432 Çaka (September 1511 A. D.) The town commanded the view of the sea from one side and from the other the picturesque scenery of the Raivataka hill, and Chaitanya saw in these and in the temple of Dwārakādhīça the vision of his Kṛṣṇa and was mad with joy for a fortnight. The people said “We never saw a Sannyāsi like this young man. His presence is heaven to us.” Chaitanya was at Dwārakā for two weeks and returned to Baradā on the last day of Aswin (October, 1511). After leaving Baradā, the party travelled for 16 days and reached the banks of the river Narbadā. Here Bharga Deva took leave of Chaitanya with many words expressive of his high regards for

him. Bharga said "I take you to be Krṣṇa himself." Chaitanya gave him a look of censure and requested him not to say such profane things again. Bharga wanted to know from the Master how faith in God could be attained. Chaitanya said "It is His grace alone that can bring unto the soul of man faith in God. Neither learning nor reasoning can do this." The next day Chaitanya and his companions reached the banks of the Narbadā, and thence

Dohada on the bank of the Narbadā. came to the city of Dohada. Here a Vasya millionaire had a temple of Krṣṇa. The man

dreamt that Krṣṇa himself appeared to him and told him that He was present in the town as a young Sannyāsi. The merchant was surprised to find in Chaitanya the same Sannyāsi whom he had seen in his dream, and he offered his tribute of worship to Chaitanya. So deep was the impression in his mind that he gave up his vast property and turned a Sannyāsi. For two days the four travelled in a jungle without tasting any food and Govinda Dāsa writes "We felt the pangs of hunger, but Chaitanya was as cheerful as ever." They reached a place named Amjhorā next, and Chaitanya said, noticing the dejected spirit of his half-starved companions "When the Lord will bring us meal, we shall eat." To the village Govinda went and got two *seers* of flour

as alms. Chaitanya prepared 16 pieces of bread with his own hands, but an old woman came with a child and begged something to eat. Chaitanya gladly gave her his own share. In the night Govinda brought some fruits which he ate. Next day he visited the Lakṣmankunda and then reached a village named Mandura on the Vindhya hills. Here in the cave of the mountain there sat a venerable Sannyāsi with beard and hair all knotted and gray, nails grown big and body emaciated by fasting and austerities. His presence was

A strange Sannyāsi. imposing, he had a bright fair colour and he was entirely naked.

Chaitanya with joined hands stood before him, and the revered saint spoke one or two words to him and smiled. Govinda could not understand what he said. They proceeded in their journey and Govinda said "On our right lay the Narbadā and on the left the Vindhya hills; at the foot of the hill was the city of Mandurā." After three days the travellers reached Deoghar.

The cure of a leper at Deoghar. Here a Vaisya named Adinārāyaṇa, afflicted with leprosy, came to Chaitanya and implored him for some cure. Chaitanya, full of compassion, gave him something to eat from the meal he had offered to God. This, it is said, cured him. Adinārāyaṇa turned a Sannyāsi. Thirty miles from Deoghar

was the village of Čivāni and on the East stood the Mahal hills (Rajmahal?) After visiting Čivāni, Chaitanya came to Chandipur where there was a temple of the Goddess Chandi. Thence he came to Rāipur where, the report of his return having already spread, people came from different places to meet him. From Rāipur Chaitanya came to Vidyānagara, the town where Rāma Ray, the minister of Pratāpa Rudra, lived. Chaitanya asked him to accompany him to Puri. Rāma Ray said that important state-business would keep him there for a few days more, but he would meet Chaitanya at Puri shortly. Chaitanya left Vidyānagara and marched towards the south. In six days the

Ratnapur. pilgrims arrived at a place called

Ratnapura which was a fortified town and full of fine buildings. Čantićwara was the name of the Rājā of the place who interviewed Chaitanya and paid his respects to him.

Qantićwara the Rājā of the place. In the morning the party came to Samvalpur surrounded by hills on all sides. Twenty miles from this town was a place named Vramara which was a favourite resort of Vaiṣṇava ascetics. Chaitanya stayed here four days. One of the staunchest admirers of Chaitanya at this place was a Uriyā Brāhmaṇa named Viṣṇu Rudra who was held in considerable esteem by the people of the

locality. From Vramara Chaitanya came to the town of Dāsapala where there was a temple of Kurma—the Great Tortoise.

Dāsapala. The image was in a well called the Rasāla Kunda. Chaitanya stayed here three days. A Marwari Brāhmaṇa living in the town was hostile to the Vaiṣṇavas. A youthful son of this Brahmin came to Chaitanya and complained to him that his father was a sworn foe to all religion. He begged Chaitanya to reform him if it was at all possible. Hardly had he finished saying so, when the infuriated father came with a stick in his hand and threatened to beat Chaitanya with it for having turned the head of his only son. Chaitanya said "Here am I completely in your hands, beat me as much as you like, but sing the praises of the Lord; that is the price you will have to pay for beating me, my friend." And as Chaitanya said this, the vision of Krṣṇa came to him and he was unconscious of the external world. He lay like a painted picture fixing his gaze heavenward, tears falling from his eyes. The Brāhmaṇa was awe-struck and soon after became a Vaiṣṇava convert. From Dāsapala, Chaitanya with his three companions came to the bank of the river Riśikulyā. He stayed here for three days and when he came near Alālanātha, all his companions of Bengal and Orissa, who were wretched during his absence, formed themselves

into a grand procession and marched from Puri  
 Return to Puri to meet him. There were  
 and the great Gadādhara and Murari, Khanjanā-  
 reception. chārya, who though a lame man  
 ran faster than others<sup>1</sup>, Sarbabhauma, the scholar,  
 Rāmadāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Haridāsa the younger,  
 Jagannātha, Daivakinandana, the excellent singer  
 Lakṣmana, Gauridāsa and hundreds of others.  
 Balaramā Dāsa sounded the horn in the procession  
 and Narahari held the flag.<sup>2</sup> It was a superb  
 sight to see him again at the house of Kaçi  
 Miçra at Puri. Sārbabhauma, the great scholar,  
 with joined hands stood before him and Murāri  
 Gupta, that prince of physicians and scholars,  
 knelt down, both saying how hard and painful  
 had been their separation from him. The Master  
 had not allowed them to accompany  
 him and they had spent all this time in  
 expectation of his return. King Pratāpa  
 Rudra<sup>3</sup> was there—casting aside all his royal  
 splendour, as a humble soul in whom a true  
 spiritual longing had begun and from whom

গঙ্গন আচার্য আসে গাঢ় অমুরাগে ।  
 ধোড়া বটে তবু আইসে সকলের আগে ॥

*Kudāchā.*

রামশিঙ্গ বজাইতে বড়ই পঙ্গিত ।  
 বলরাম দাস আইসে হয়ে হরিষিত ॥  
 নরহরি দেখা দেয় নিশান লইয়া ।

*Kudāchā*

নগর কীর্তনে যবে মহাপ্রভু যায় ।  
 দীরবেশে মহারাজ পেছু পেছু দ্বায় ॥

*Kudāchā.*

the last shadow of vanity had been driven out. Govinda Dāsa's description of Chaitanya's return to Puri is so graphic that the reader, while reading it, feels himself to be, as it were, in the midst of this gathering, paying homage to the Master with the rest. On the third day of Magha, in January, 1511, Chaitanya came back to Puri. So his travel from Puri and back took him altogether one year eight months and twenty-six days. A few days after his return Chaitanya sent Govinda Dāsa to Čāntipur with a letter to Advaita. Here the narrative breaks off suddenly.

The above is a mere outline and a brief summary of the elaborate descriptions of Govinda Dāsa. The charm of the work lies in the simplicity of its descriptions and a total absence of exaggeration. It is a plain tale divested of all supernatural elements which were attributed to Chaitanya by the later biographers. The beauty of Chaitanya's life is realized here in its simplest and therefore in its most impressive form. The only supernatural anecdote to be found here is the cure of a leper at Deoghar by Chaitanya. But the account of this incident is so unassumingly simple that it is difficult to discredit it, coming as it does from an eye-witness of unquestionable veracity.

#### *XXII.—Tour in Upper India.*

Chaitanya, as we have seen above, returned to Puri in February, 1511. He remained there

till October, 1516. During this time he had attempted several times to make a trip to Vṛndāvana. But the importunities of Rāmānanda Ray, Vāsudeva Sārbabhauma, Rāja Pratāpa Rudra and many others, to whom his presence was so precious, had held him back. In October, 1515, however, he had left Puri and we have seen that extensive preparations were made for his tour by Rāja Pratap Rudra and Pradyumna Miśra, *alias* Nṛsinghānanda<sup>1</sup>. He went to Rāmakeli *via* Čāntipur, followed by thousands of men. At a place called Kānāier Nāṭaçālā, he changed his mind and spoke as follows: "To Vṛndāvana I

<sup>1</sup> Pradyumna Miśra (Nṛsinghānanda) constructed a road for Chaitanya's tour from Kulia to Kānāier Nāṭaçālā. We already noticed it in a foregoing page. We reproduce here the full text. "The road from Kulia was made with stone with metallic decorations. Bukula trees were there on both sides of the road and tanks were dug for the use of the pilgrims, the companions of Chaitanya. The ghats, the landing steps, were built with stone. Aquatic birds made pleasant sounds there, and the air was fragrant and cool. When Chaitanya passed by the road, he found it strewn over with thousands of flowers from which stalks were removed. The road went up to Kānāier Nāṭalā". From Kulia, a ward of Nadia—to Kānāier Nāṭaçālā the road extended over a space of many miles.

"ବ୍ରଦ୍ଧାବନେ ଯାବେନ ପ୍ରତୁ ଶନି ମୁସିଂହନନ୍ଦ ।  
ପଥ ସାଜାଇଲ ମନେ କରିଯା ଆନନ୍ଦ ॥  
କୁଳିଯା ନଗର ଚଟ୍ଟମେ ପଥ ରହେ ବୀରାଇଲ ।  
ନିର୍ବୃଷ୍ଟ ପ୍ରମ୍ପ ଶୟା ଉପବେ ପାତିଲ ।  
ପଦେ ଦୁଇ ଦିକେ ପୁଷ୍ପ ବକୁଳେର ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ।  
ମଧ୍ୟେ ମଧ୍ୟେ ଛଟ ପାଶେ ଦିବ୍ୟ ପୁଷ୍ପରିଣୀ ।  
ରହୁବନ୍ଧ ଧାଟ ତାଢେ ପ୍ରଫୁଲ୍ଲ କମଳ ।  
ନାନା ପଞ୍ଚଶି କୋଲାଇଲ ସୁଧାମମ ଜଳ ॥  
ଶୌଭଲ ସମୀର ବହେ ନାନା ଗଙ୍କ ଲଙ୍ଘଣୀ ।  
କାନାଇର ନାଟିଶାଳା ପଯ୍ୟରୁ ଲଈଲ ବୀଧିଯା ॥

must go all alone. Mādhavendra Puri went there in a true spirit of devotion suffering hardships which but served to fan the flame of his faith. And lo, I am going there like a prince with a retinue of soldiers and drummers who beat drums to proclaim my journey. Oh, fie upon me!"<sup>1</sup> He came back to Puri and stayed there for four months till the middle of 1516, and then he requested the few friends, to whom he had communicated his intention to start out alone for Vṛndāvana, not to speak of his intended trip to any one. They remonstrated with him and urged that at least a Brāhmaṇa servant should go with him to cook his meals. He addressed Rāmananda and Swarupa and said "There are so many willing to go, if I take one, others will be disappointed." But a Brāhmaṇa named Baladeva Bhattachārya had already projected a tour to Vṛndāvana and when Chaitanya started for the place he joined the Master on the road and Chaitanya could not get rid of him. A journey to upper India on foot was not safe in those days,

<sup>1</sup> Pratapa Rudra, the king, had ordered that wherever Chaitanya would bathe, a pillar should be raised to mark the landing ghāṭ.

ମହି ଶାନ କଣ ପ୍ରତ୍ଯ ଗାନ ନଦୀ ପାରେ ।

ତାତ ସୁତ୍ର ବୋପଣ କବ ମହାତୀଥ କରେ ।

*The Chaitanya Charitamrta, Madhya Khanda, Chapter 16.*

ଶୁଲ୍ବବଣେ ମାର କାହା ଏକାକୀ ହଇଯା ।

ମୈନା ମଞ୍ଜେ ଚଲିଯାଛି ଢାକ ବାଜାଇଯା ॥

ଧିକ ଧିକ ଆପାନାକେ ବଲି ହଟ୍ଟୟା ଅଛିର ।

ନିବୃତ୍ତି ହଇଯା ପୂଣ୍ୟ ଆଇଲାମ ଗଞ୍ଜାତୀର ।

*Chaitanya Charitamrta, Madhya Khanda, Chapter 16.*

as there was often fighting between the different States making the position of the pilgrims extremely insecure. But the ascetics had little risk of being molested, as they were merely beggars, and Chaitanya, when he started depended on God's mercy alone.

Starts privately. He left Puri during the night and it was kept so secret that in the morning people assembled in hundreds as usual to pay their respects to him and were not told where Chaitanya had gone till a long time after. Chaitanya did not follow the main roads lest people should track him out and join him. Leaving Cuttack on the right he travelled through the forest path of Jhari Khanda, which was a part of Chotanagpur.

The description which the Chaitanya Charitamṛta gives of this tour is very inadequate. Baladeva Bhattachārya, Chaitanya's companion, evidently took no notes of it. And what he reported to others was evidently in course of time greatly distorted. The names of the places visited were generally forgotten, whilst the marvellous and legendary stories gathered round each little incident which, when recounted by story-tellers, made a deeper impression on the country people than historical facts. This accounts for the supernatural elements that have occasionally entered into the descriptions of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who,

though himself a truthful narrator of those facts which he personally observed, being an orthodox Vaiṣṇava, too often allowed credulity to get the better of his judgment. Kṛṣṇa Dāsa sets down in all seriousness, for instance, such puerilities as the account of a tiger who utters the name of Kṛṣṇa, being inspired by Chaitanya. It should, however, be said that in the first hand accounts about Chaitanya that Kṛṣṇadāsa obtained from Rupa, Sanātana, Raghunātha, Lokānatha and Gopāla Bhatta, his records are characterised by the vividness of living history. In the minuteness and patient industry with which the theological topics are treated and the various important incidents of Chaitanya's life are narrated, Chaitanya Charitāmṛta stands as a monumental example among the biographical works of that age.

Reverting to Chaitanya's tour, it is said, that during his wanderings in the forests of Chotanagpur he was much pleased with Baladeva Achārya's modesty and earnest desire for the spiritual life. Chaitanya is said to have made this reflection on the occasion. "When with the intention of going to Vṛindavana, I left Puri five months ago and came to Bengal I was overjoyed to see the sacred banks of the Ganges again and to behold my beloved mother. But there was such a large crowd who persisted in their resolve to accompany me that I had to leave

my plan of visiting Vṛndāvana at the time. The loneliness of this place and your companionship give me an infinite degree of pleasure. In this woody tracts my mind revels in the sight of God's mercy everywhere."

From Jharikhanda Chaitanya came to Benares and stopped at the house of Tapana Miśra, whose son Raghu and Chandraekhara, a Vaidya, were his constant companions. At their earnest request he stayed for ten days near the Maṇikarnikā Ghāṭ. The Sannyāsīs of Benares believed that the earth was an illusion and discredited the theory of a personal God. They studied the Upanishads and strove to reach that quiet state of the soul in which the passions are subdued. They ridiculed the emotional religion which delights in ecstasies of joy. Chaitanya did not like to mix in their company and hence avoided all invitations from outside. One Mahratta Brāhmaṇa who had interviewed Chaitanya and was full of admiration for him said to Prakāśananda, the leader of the Sannyāsīs of Benares : " Master, a very remarkable Sannyāsi has come here from Puri. His merits are uncommon. A young man of remarkably handsome features and of a bright fair colour, he looks like a god. He speaks of Kṛṣṇa and of nothing else and his two

<sup>1</sup> The Chaitanya Charitamīta, Madhya Khaṇḍa, Chapter 17.

eyes constantly pour forth tears of love which look holy as the Ganges. One feels as though cleansed of one's sins as one sees his tears and hears him speak. He weeps in ecstasy of joy and he certainly has a high vision. Such an impression has this Sannyāsi produced on me that I take him to be an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa himself." To which Prakāśananda, the haughty leader of the scholars of Benares, replied with a smile of derision :

"Yes, we have also heard that from Gaur Prakāśananda's contempt of Chaitanya, has come a young Sannyāsi of strange manners. He is a disciple of Keçava Bhārati and an emotional man. By some mysterious power in him he draws men to him and even such a scholar, as Vāsudeva Sārbabhauma, has turned mad and is now one of his staunch advocates. Probably this Sannyāsi knows some black art. But is it credible that such an impostor will be accepted by the people of Benares? It is impossible. Leave the mad man alone and stay here quietly and read the Upanishadas."

শনি প্রকাশনন্দ বড়ত হাসিল ।  
গীতে উপহাস করি কঠিতে লাগিল ॥  
শ্বিয়াছি গৌড়দেশে সন্নামীভাবক ।  
কেশব ভারতী শিশা লোক প্রতারক ॥  
চৈতন্য নাম তার ভাবকগণ লঞ্চা ।  
দেশে দেশে প্রামে প্রামে বুলে লোক নাচাইয়া ।  
যেই ভাব দেখে মেই ঝিথৰ করি কহে ।  
ঐছে মোহন বিদ্বা যে দেখে সে মোহে ॥

We know that when Chaitanya visited the holy city of Benares on his way back from Vṛndāvana, he converted the haughty leader of the Sannyāsis—Prakāçānanda. The abuser became an worshipper of “the mad young man” and wrote many hymns in Sanskrit in his praise.

The Brāhmaṇa scholar was very sad at the abuse showered upon Chaitanya by Prakāçānanda. Chaitanya understood how deeply the scholar's feelings were wounded, and said “I came to sell a little of the emotional sweetness with which my soul is charged to the people of Benares. But there is no purchaser here. The burden of my emotion oppresses me and fain would I sell it to you at whatever small price you would offer”.<sup>1</sup> And the merchant who came to trade with his sweet stock of emotion left Benares that time, only to return some years after with the royal monopoly which made him the master of trade in the spiritual commerce of Benares.

The Marhatta Brāhmaṇa followed him and the three came to Prayāga(Allahabad).  
To Allahabad His tour along the banks of the

<sup>1</sup> ଭାବକାଳି ସେଚିତେ ଶାହିଲାମ କାଶୀପୁରେ ।  
ପ୍ରାତିକ ନାହିଁ ନା ବିକାଶ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ଯାବ ଥରେ ॥  
ଭାବ ବୋଧା ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ଶାହିଲାମ କେମନେ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ଯାବ ।  
ଅଜ ପ୍ରତ୍ଯେ ମୂଳ୍ୟ ପାଇଦେ ଏପାଇ ବେଚିବ ॥

Jamnā was characterised by constant ecstasies of devotion at the sight of the river, which recalled at every turn his vision of Kṛṣṇa. He jumped into the river several times frenzied with love, and was saved from drowning by Baladeva Bhāttāchārya. He stayed at Allahabad for three days and then came to Muttra, where he first visited the Biçrama Tīrtha. Here did he meet a Brāhmaṇa who like him was a seer of

sights not vouchsafed to ordinary  
mortal's eyes, and Chaitanya marvelled to see his love-ecstasies. This Brāhmaṇa belonged to the Sonoria sect—one whose social status was very low among the Brāhmaṇas. But Chaitanya took alms from him, though the Brāhmaṇa objected saying that by doing so the Master might be degraded in popular estimation. The latter however had no hesitation in touching the dust trodden by a cobbler's feet if he found him to be god-fearing and faithful. So Chaitanya did not attach any importance to social considerations.

But he wonderingly asked the Brāhmaṇa as to how he realised such love for God. The Brāhmaṇa said that he was a disciple of Mādhavendra Puri.

সন্ধিকৌম ভট্টাচার্যা পণ্ডিত প্রবল  
শনি চৈত্ন্যের মধ্যে শইল পাণ্ডল ।  
সর্বাদীন নামমাত্র মহা ইন্দ্ৰজালী ॥  
কাশীপুরে না বিকাবে হৃব তৃব কলো ।  
বেদাঞ্জ শব্দ কর না যষ্টিহ তৃব পাশ ।  
উচ্ছু জল লোক মঙ্গে দুষ্টকল নশ ॥

The latter, it will be remembered, was the Guru of Chaitanya's Guru Tewar Puri. On hearing this Chaitanya showed him great respect. He visited the 24 bathing Ghats—such as the Sayambhu, Bigrama, Dirgha, Visnu, Bhuteewara, Gokarna—and the celebrated groves known as the Madhuvana, Tālavana, Kadambavana and Behula Vana. When he came to the village of Acali, he asked of the people as to where the Rādhākunda was. None could tell him anything of the places which were associated with Kṛṣṇa. These were long forgotten. It was Chaitanya and his followers who identified them and invested Vṛndāvana with its modern glory and magnificence. This however will form the subject of my lectures as a Reader of the University of Calcutta. The only image<sup>+</sup> of Kṛṣṇa that Chaitanya saw at Vṛndāvana was that of Gopāla which was discovered by Mādhavendra Puri and enshrined in the village of Annakuta on the Gobardhana hill. The people of this locality were in perpetual fears of the

Mahomedan iconoclasts, and at Vṛndāvana, the time Chaitanya came to

Vṛndāvana, the image of Gopāla was brought down from the hills and kept concealed in a village named Gothuli, owing to an alarming rumour that the Turks were coming in quest of the god. The god had very hard days in these troublesome days. We find the image in serious

danger when brought back to its own home on the Gobardhana; for another rumour of the approach of the Turkish army made it leave the cottage and move to the temple of Bithhalegwara at Muttra. When Chaitanya was at Vṛndāvana there was already a strong band of his Vaiṣṇava followers there—Rūpa, Sanātana, Bhugarbha and others who all stayed with him. From Vṛndāvana Chaitanya went to Mandīvara where there was a temple or cave in which there were three images, *ciz*: of Jasodā, Nanda and Kṛṣṇa. From this place he came to the Bhandir-groves and at Amelitola met a Brāhmaṇa named Kṛṣṇa Dāsa and heard from him the tale of Kṛṣṇa's appearing every night in the Jumnā on the head of the great snake Kaliya. Chaitanya treated the story with the contempt it deserved. It was afterwards found that the illusion of Kṛṣṇa and the snake was created by a fisherman's boat with a light in it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When the report was brought to Chaitanya, he merely laughed at the foolish story. He said "absurd, it is a fable manufactured by the illiterate country folk," he advised the people not to turn mad over the false story and when actually made enquiries, he found that a fisherman with his boat used to catch fish every night on the river with a light in the boat, and this created the illusion. Here is the original passage

ତବେ ତବେ କହେ ଅତ୍ର ଚାପଡ ମାରିଯା ।  
 ମୁଖ ସାକୋ ମୂର୍ଗ ହିଲା ପଣ୍ଡିତ ହଟେୟା ॥  
 କୃଷ୍ଣ କେନ ଦରଶନ ଦିବେ କାଳାକାଳେ ।  
 ନିଜ ଭାବେ ମୂର୍ଗ ଲୋକ କବେ କୋଲାଇଲେ ॥  
 ଶାତୁଳ ନା ହଇଁ ଓ ଥବେ ବହତ ବସିଯା ।  
 କୃଷ୍ଣ ଦରଶନ କରିଛ କାଲି ରାତ୍ରେ ଯାଇୟା ॥  
 ଆତିକୋଳେ ଭୟ ଲୋକ ଅତ୍ର ଶ୍ଵାନେ ଅଟିଲା ।  
 ଫୁଥି ଦେଖ ଆଇଲା ଅତ୍ର ତଥାତେ ପୁଚ୍ଛିଲା ॥

The ecstasies, speeches and spiritual emotions of Chaitanya attracted the people more strongly than a great poem. For his words were like psalms, his songs as marvels of lyrics and his god-realization and trainees - the crowning chapter of a noble epic. He appealed irresistibly to all, and daily hundreds of men and women came to invite him to their houses. The great concourse of people and their ardent desire to interview him at all hours became almost oppressive. And though Chaitanya, lost in his own inner joys, heeded not his surroundings, Baladevāchārya could not endure the press of Chaitanya's admirers, none of whom would leave the place without having talked with him for some time. Baladevāchārya requested Chaitanya to visit the great *mela* at Allahabad which was then being held, and Chaitanya gave his ready assent to his request. Four Brāhmins among whom was Kṛṣṇadāsa, accompanied Chaitanya, and they crossed the Jumna. Chaitanya was subjected to frequent trances, and on one occasion when he was totally unconscious they brought him to the other bank and waited till he recovered consciousness. It

লোকে কহে রাত্রে কৈবর্ত মোকাদে চড়িয়া :

কালিদহে মৎস্য মারে দেউতি জ্ঞানিয়া ॥

দূর হৈতে তাহা দেখি লোকেন হয় দম ।

কালীর শরীরে কৃষ্ণ করিতে নাইন ॥"

Chaitanya Charitāmṛta Mañ्यa Kanda —Chap. 18.

so happened that ten Pāthan horse-men were going by that road, and seeing a man lying senseless and five men surrounding him, their natural inference was that the five men were robbers, who had drugged the senseless man in order to rob him. The Pāthans bound the five Brāhmaṇis, hand and foot, accusing them of thieving. Kīṣṭadāsa was, however, a daring fellow. He said that he had relations in the court of the Emperor; they carried a great influence; he himself was the master of a fortified town guarded by strong cavalry. He in his turn charged the Turks with being robbers, and added that if he sounded his pipe, hundreds of soldiers would come there presently and revenge themselves on the aggressors. The Turks thereupon untied the hands of the five men but stayed to watch the unconscious Brāhmaṇi. Chaitanya soon recovered his senses and hearing the story as told by the Turks, said, "These five Brāhmaṇis are my companions. I am subject to epileptic fits, and they have helped rather than hindered me. I am a *sannyāsi* and a beggar and I have nothing to be robbed of." 1 One of the Turks was a *pūr*

The Pathan horse-men.

। "ହେଲେ କାଳେ ତଥା ଆମୋଷର ଦଶ ଆଇଲା ।

—ପାଠାନ ସୋଡ଼ା ହିତେ ଉତ୍ତରିଲା ॥

ଆଜୁକେ ଦେଖିଯା ତାରା କରମେ ବିଚାର ।

ଏହି ସତି ପାଶେ ଛିଲ ହର୍ବର୍ ଅପାର ॥

dressed in black robes; he readily entered into theological topics and soon felt the influence of the Master. One of the Mahomedans was Bijali Khan, a general in the Emperor's army, and he too was greatly attracted by Chaitanya's

এই পক্ষ বাটপার দুঃখে আওয়াজয়।  
 মারি ভাবিয়াছে শক্তির দন সব জ্ঞান।  
 তবে মে পাঠান পক্ষ জনাবে বর্ণিবস।  
 কান্তিমে চাহে গোড়িয়া সবে কাপতে লাগিব।  
 কৃষ্ণদাম বাজপ্তি নিঃশ্ব সে বড়।  
 মেষ বিপ্র নিঃশ্ব মৃগ বড় নড়।  
 বিপ্র বলে পাঠান তোমার পাদমার দোহাট।  
 চল তুমি আমি শিকদাৰ পাশে গাঠ।  
 এ র্যাতি আমাৰ শুণ আমি মৰিলা প্ৰকণ।  
 পাদমাৰ আগে আমাৰ শাক শুভ জন।  
 এষ্ট. মতি ব্যাধি কৃত শথ মৃচ্ছি।  
 গুৰুতি চেতন ধাৰে উচ্চে সুধি।  
 শুধেক ঈশ্ব বৈদ শাকি বাধ সভাকাৰে।  
 ঈশ্বাকে পৃতিয়া তবে মালিও আমাৰে।  
 পাঠান কহে তুমি পশ্চিমা দুষ্ট জন।  
 গোড়িয়া ঈশ্ব এই কাপে তিন জন।  
 কৃষ্ণদাম কহে আমাৰ সব এই গামে।  
 শতেক তড় ক। আচে দুষ্ট শত কামানে।  
 এথনি আসিবে সব আমি মদি ফুকাৰি।  
 ঘোড়া পিড়া লুট :বে তোমা সবে মালি।  
 গোড়িয়া বাটপাড় নহে তুমি বাটপাড়।  
 তীর্থবাদা লুট আৰ চাহ মারিবাব।  
 গোড়িয়া বাটপাড় মনে সঙ্কেচ হইল।  
 হেন কালে মহাপ্রভু চেতন পাইল।  
 উক্ষাৰ কফিয়া উচ্চে বলি হিৱ হিৱ।  
 প্ৰেমাবেশে নৃত্য কৰে উৰ্দ্ধ বাঢ় কৰি।  
 অভূ কহেন ঠক নহে এই পঞ্চকন।  
 ভিজুক সন্ধানী মোৰ নাহি কিছু ধন।  
 সুগী ব্যাধিতে আমি হই অচেতন।  
 এই পঁচ দয়া কৰি কৰেন পালিন।

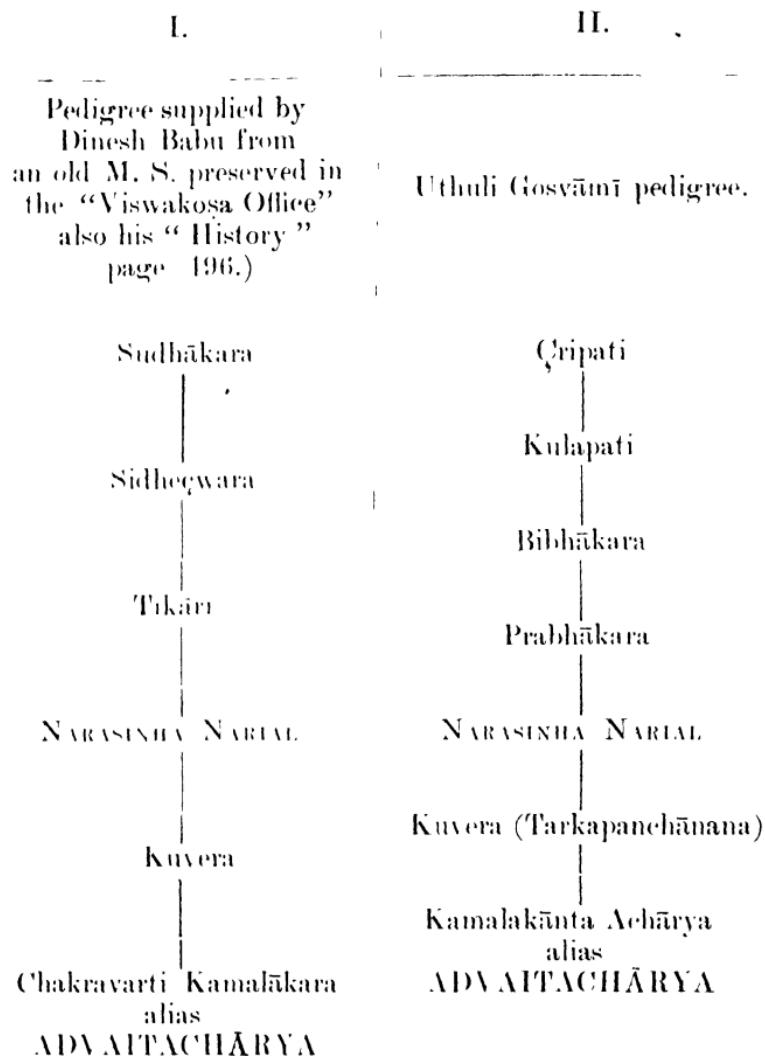
faith, and the upshot was that the ten Mahomedans became converts to Vaiṣṇavism and were known as the Pāṭhān Vairāgīs. Chaitanya returned to Allahabad and thence visited Benares. Here he met Rūpa and Sanātana who had come back from Mathurā and discoursed with them on several points of Vaiṣṇava theology. These learned discourses are fully described by Kavikarṇapura in his Chaitanya Chandrodaya Nātaka.

XXX.—*The Pedigree of Advaita*

I have already given the pedigree of Chaitanya. In regard to those of the two other apostles, Advaita and Nityānanda, I regret to say, that I cannot place the same reliance on the genealogical lists supplied by their descendants. As they were not Kulinś the names of the ancestors of the two apostles were not preserved in any authentic work of the *ghataks*. The three tables given below each showing the pedigree of Advaita, are quoted from an article by Mr. Stapleton in the 'Dacca Review.' Two of these were supplied by me from two different sources and the remaining one Mr. Stapleton obtained from the Gosvāmīs of Uthuli in the District of Dacca, who claim to be the descendants of Advaita. It will be seen that apart from Narasinha Nārial, the names obtained from the three different places do not coincide and cannot at all be relied upon.

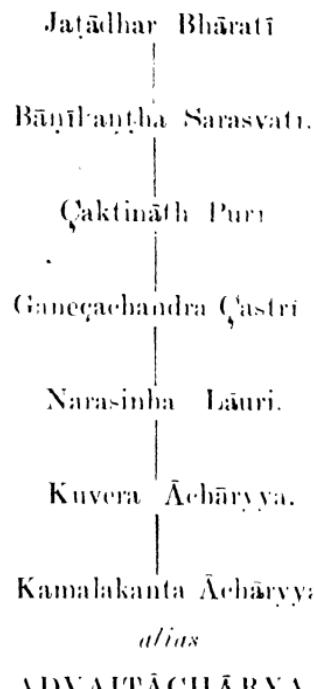
I shall first of all quote Mr. Stapleton's remarks, which though they refer to a different subject, have a bearing on the present problem.

"Dinesh Babu's new suggestions for the date of *Kirttivāsa* that are made in his note are based on the extremely perilous foundation of the traditional genealogies current in Bengal. I fear he hardly realises what unsound ground this is; but as an indication of the undesirability of referring to these at all as independent historical authorities, I contrast in parallel columns the pedigree of Advaita; even by Dinesh Babu with (a) the presumably authentic one supplied by the Uthuli Brahmins which is said to be quoted direct from the *Valya-līlā Sūtra* and (b) a pedigree lately obtained for me by Dinesh Babu from the Santipur descendants of Advaita who also claim descent from the same son of Advaita—Kṛṣṇa Miśra as the Uthuli Goswamis do."



## III.

Cāntipur Gosvāmī pedigree.



ADVAITĀCHĀRYA.

Mr. Stapleton aptly remarks “One might imagine that these relate to three different families of Vārendra Brahmins instead of one and the same, and similar instances of flagrant contradiction in pedigrees are often met with.”

The names from Narasinha Nārial downwards tally in all the three pedigrees. Narasinha Nārial was the Prime Minister of Rājā Ganeśa who killed the Mahomedan Emperor of Gauḍa and occupied his throne. Advaita Prakāṣa by Īcāna Nāgara says “Narasinha Nārial was the Minister of Rājā Ganeśa, and the latter

succeeded in killing the Emperor of Gauda and occupying his throne by the statesmanly advice of his minister."

In the face of the discrepancies in the names above that of the Nārial, as found in the three tables, there is no other alternative left to us than to reject them all. Mr. Stapleton seems inclined to favour the one supplied by the Uthuli Gosvāmīs on the ground that they got it from the Vālyalilā Sūtra. The claims of the Vālyalilā Sūtra (lit. the incidents of childhood—of Advaita) by Lauriā Kīṣṇa Dās to authenticity are however open to question. But if we should give preference to any of these, it would be the one supplied by Jayagopāla Gosvāmī of Cāntipura. Cāntipur was the seat of Advaita himself, and his direct descendants there are presumably in possession of all authentic records regarding the genealogy of the family, if really any existed at the time of Advaita.

But I am not inclined to credit any of them as true. The reason I may briefly put as follows. The followers of Chaitanya did not usually care to preserve the names of their ancestors. They offered their services to humanity in the spirit of true spiritual humility, and were ashamed of any distinction which might attach to their names on account of their noble lineage. It is for this that the Brāhmaṇī Vaiśṇavas often eliminated their surnames and took pride in

calling themselves “*dāsas*” or servants—servants of all, or better, servants of God ; every great poet among them has subscribed himself as a Dāsa in the colophon of his lyrical masterpieces. In the introduction to a theological or biographical work, the Vaiṣṇava writers as a rule give a prominent place to the praise of those whom they revere, and while in this eulogistic preface they pay their respects to a number of illustrious Vaiṣṇavas, living and dead, they rarely or never allude to the names of their parents. The fact is that the Vaiṣṇava religion rather strengthened the ties of spiritual kinship and was inclined to diminish the family-ties. It is for this reason that Advaita never cared to refer to his pedigree. He is said to have lived to 120 years—the full span of human life. Whether this be true or not, there is no doubt that he lived up to a good old age. When, however, he died, the orthodox Hindu instincts had already revived even amongst the Vaiṣṇavas. His descendants, however, could scarcely find any authentic record of their pedigree after the lapse of so many years. They became Gosvāmīs and holding an exalted position among the Vaiṣṇavas, wanted to match the genealogies of the Kulin Brāhmaṇas who could name their 33 ancestors or more. This may account for the long tables which some of them produce now and also for the disagreement

among these obtained from different sources. While we cannot positively assert that none of these three pedigrees is correct, we cannot also credit any one of them as accurate until some other documentary evidence is produced to support it.

I agree with Mr. Stapleton that the genealogical records such as those of Advaita cannot be accepted as authentic. But I can by no means subscribe to his sweeping remark as to the unreliability of all ancient pedigrees as a whole. While the trustworthiness of records apart from those of Kulin families may reasonably be questioned, the pedigrees of the descendants of the Kulins, so far as the three upper classes are concerned, possess undoubtedly great authenticity and may certainly be used as historical evidence. The great care with which such records are preserved by a special class of men known as the *ghatakas*, the high prestige which the Kulins have always enjoyed in society, the least infringement of the strict rules in matrimonial affairs leading to the lasting disgrace of a family, the custom of reciting the pedigrees of the Kulin-families during the marriage festivities before a large audience thoroughly conversant with the genealogical accounts of Kulins and ready to assail any errors, however small,—these, among other reasons equally important, invest the genealogical records of the Kulin-families with

an unquestionable authenticity. If Mr. Stapleton would take the trouble to compare the pedigrees of high caste Kulīns, he would scarcely come across any disagreement though he might look into a number of such cases. It is true that in the distant villages of Bengal, outside the chief seats of the Kulīns, some families have occasionally tried, by forging names, to connect themselves with some recognised Kulīn families, but such cases are exceptions proving the rule. But where this has happened the country bards have kept afresh the memory of the infamous tale by exposing the forgery in songs.

Advaita's genealogical accounts, so far as his remote ancestors are concerned, are therefore unreliable. He was not a Kulīn, he was a Vaiṣṇava. And though his family obtained a lustre from him and became exalted in popular estimation, so that his descendants sought for a long list of their ancestors to put themselves on a par with the Kulīn Brāhmaṇs, Advaita, himself simple and pious as he was, never cared to shine by the borrowed light of his ancestry, but claimed kinship with the whole of humanity. Had he cared to preserve his pedigree we would have found it in the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta and in the Chaitanya Bhāgavata where long chapters have been devoted to his glorification.

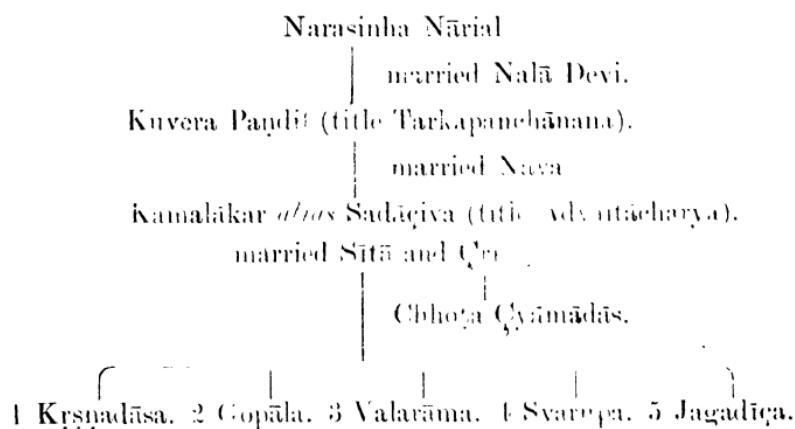
Advaita's father Kuvera Pañdit was the court-pañdit of the Rājā of Lāura in Sylhet. He had married Nāvā, a daughter of Mahānanda of the same village. The pair came down and settled at Cāntipur. They had six sons and one daughter who had died in childhood. The six sons were Ćrīkanṭha, Laksmīkanṭha, Hariharānanda, Sadā-gīva, Kuṭaladās and Kīrtichandra. They all

Advaita's early life. went on a pilgrimage and four of them died in the course of their journey. Advaita married, in a rather advanced age, Sītā and Ćrī, the daughters of one Nṛsinha of Nārāyanpur near Sātgāon. His marriage expenses were borne by the brothers Hiranya and Gobardhana<sup>1</sup> of Sātgāon. Sītā had five sons Kṛṣṇadās Miṭra, Gopāla, Valarāma, Svarupa and Jagadīṣa. Ćrī had only one son named Ćyāmādāsa known by his familiar name of Chhoṭa Ćyāma. Advaita was born in the month of February in the year 1434 A.D.

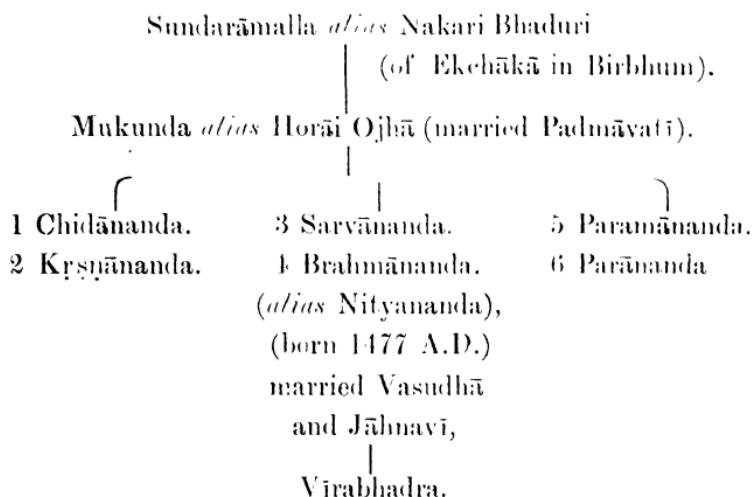
Omitting the four earliest names in Advaita's pedigree which are disputed, we subjoin here a list of his ancestors and descendants about whom no question or doubt is likely to arise :

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<sup>1</sup> Govardhana Dās was the father of the celebrated Raghunātha Dās.



## THE PEDIGREE OF NITYANANDA.

*XXVI.—A list of the Mystics.*

The Vaiṣṇavas had from pre-historic times developed the mystic longings of the soul for communion with God. While the Yogis strove for the soul's conquest over passions and for the

attainment of that state of tranquillity which raises a man above the sorrows and pleasures of the world, the Vaiṣṇavas went a step beyond, and longed for God-realisation. This stage presupposes the attainment of the highest goal of Buddhism, *viz.*: perfect ethical development in man and an extinction of his passions and desires. The experiences of a mystic are strange. To his senses the incomprehensible becomes recognizable as clearly as a material object, and the soul becomes full of ecstasies of joy when the vision is clear, and of anxious longings when the vision fades. This I have already shown by examples from Europe and Asia alike. I give below a list of some of the mystics of Europe and Asia with their dates.<sup>1</sup> Those who would like to have a fuller account of them are referred to Mrs. Underhill's excellent work.

#### Philo the mystical Alexandrian

Jew	...	B.C. 20 to A.D. 40
St. Clement of Alexandria	...	A.D. 160-220.
Pope Gregory the Great	...	A.D. 540-604.
St. Bernard	...	A.D. 1091-1153.
Richard of St. Victor	...	A.D. 1173.

(Dante spoke of this mystic as 'in contemplation more than man.')

St. Hildegarde	...	A.D. 1098-1179.
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<sup>1</sup> I have not included any name of the Indian *sādhus* in the subjoined list.

St. Elizabeth of Schoenau ...	A.D. 1138-1165.
Gertrude 'the Nun' ...	A.D. 1251-1291.
Mitchheld of Hackborn ...	A.D. 1310.
Michthild of Magdeburg ...	A.D. 1212-1299.
St. Gertrude the Great ...	A.D. 1256-1311.

(She was admired for her beautiful and significant dreams and her loving conversations with Christ and the blessed Virgin).

St. Francis of Assisi	... A.D. 1182-1226.
St. Bonaventura	... A.D. 1221-1274.
St. Donceline	... Born A.D. 1214.
Blessed John Ruysbroeck	... A.D. 1293-1381.
Geraid Groot	... A.D. 1340-1384.
Thomas-A-Kempis	... A.D. 1380-1471.
Richard Rolle of Hampole	... A.D. 1300-1349.
Julian of Nawrich	... A.D. 1343-1413.
Gerlae Peterson	... Died A.D. 1411.
Joan of Arc	... A.D. 1412.
St. Catherine of Siena	... A.D. 1347-1380.
St. Catherine of Jenoa	... A.D. 1447-1510.
St. Teresa	... A.D. 1515-1582.
St. John of Cross	... A.D. 1542-1591.
St. Francis de Sales	... A.D. 1571-1622.
Madame Guyon	... A.D. 1648-1717.
Jacophone da Todi	... Died A.D. 1306.
The Blessed Angela of Foligno	A.D. 1248-1309.
St. Thomas Aquinas the Dominican	... A.D. 1226-1274.
Jelalu'd'din	... A.D. 1207-1273.
Hafiz	... A.D. 1300-1388.

Jami	... A.D. 1414-1492.
Dante	... A.D. 1265-1321.
Meister Eckhart	... A.D. 1260-1329.
John Tauler	... A.D. 1300-1361.
Blessed Henry Suso	... A.D. 1300-1365.
Margaret Ebner	... A.D. 1291-1351.
Rulman Merswin	... A.D. 1310-1382.
William Blake	... A.D. 1757-1829.

In India such names are endless. Every true Sādhu is a mystic and these men care nothing for self-glorification or even for contact with ordinary men. They associate with the chosen few who are already prepared to receive the truths of a higher plane from them.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the Vaiṣṇavas, not to speak of Nārada, Ćukadeva and others who had direct messages from the higher spiritual world in pre-historic ages, we come across a host of others who have shown in their lives a manifestation of supreme bliss due to god-realisation in comparatively modern times. We find in the Vaiṣṇava work of Prapasu Mrita the details of ecstasies of devotion shown by Kanchi Pūrṇa—a Ćudra disciple

<sup>1</sup> Some of these Sādhus betake themselves to the forest and live as recluses ; others work in the field of the human world ; but an Indian Sādhu even while practising *Yoga*, self-control and devotion in a lonely place, should not be considered as cut off from the world and therefore of no use to it. The coconut tree grows far ahead of other trees, beyond the reach of men, and in the sky its treasure of fruit hangs where ordinary men can scarcely climb up to secure it, the Sādhu works in the same way for the world. The chosen few are allowed to approach him and they bring the fruit of the Sādhu's spiritual labour for the service of the humanity, even as the expert climber alone reaches the top of the coconut tree to get the fruits for his fellow-men.

of Jamunācharya. Kanchi Pūrṇa lived about the year 1034 A.D. in the temple of Baradā Ray (Kṛṣṇa). There his joys and trances, which all belonged to a higher plane, attracted the great

The mystics who developed the Bhakti-cult in specially in Bengal

Rāmānuja Svāmī, who was inspired by them and himself exhibited the mystic longings shortly

after in a far higher degree. So far as may be gathered from the accounts found in Bengali literature, the followers of Rāmānuja do not seem to have had much hold upon the people of Bengal. Rāmānuja's influence was confined chiefly to southern India. He worshipped Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, and it yet remains to be proved whether the Sen kings of Bengal, who come from the Deccan, were influenced by the apostle's followers. The images of Vāsudeva with which the temples of Bengal abounded during the reign of these kings do not apparently conform to any earlier local artistic or religious tradition here. They seem to have been conceived after the models prevalent in other parts of India—particularly the Deccan. It was to the Māddhi sect that Bengal owes her great Vaiṣṇava faith, the culminating point of which was reached in the life of Chaitanya. We find in the Bhaktiratnākar that Viṣṇu Puri, a disciple of Jayadharma, the 10th leader of this sect, popularised the Bhāgavata amongst the Bengalis about the middle of the 13th century by his celebrated

Sanskrit work called the *Bhaktiratnāvalī*. This seems to be the first impetus to Vaiṣṇavism that came from the Māddhi order in Bengal. If Jayadeva was an earlier poet, he was inspired by the Čanaka sect more than any other; for it was Nimbāditya of the latter sect who promulgated the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, while Māddhāchārya's followers worshipped Hari and Hara. I have stated in a foregoing lecture that Chaitanya did not truly represent the creed of Māddhāchārya, though he outwardly belonged to the sect. And I think the songs of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, with which the whole air of Bengal rang in those days, are responsible for the origin of the mixed creed which started with Chaitanya and has since given to its followers the distinctive name of Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas. The Māddhi sect from whom were derived the rituals of the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas, contributed but little share to the development of the highest ideal of spiritual love typified in the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend.

I will not weary my readers by attempting to solve the intricate problem of the origin of the different sects of the Vaiṣṇavas. We find that it was Viṣṇu Puri, a disciple of Jayadharma, that first paved the way for the influence the Māddhāchārya sect was to have upon Bengal in the 13th century. The *Bhaktiratnāvalī* of Viṣṇu Puri was translated

into Bengali verse by Lauria Kṛṣṇa Dāsa in the beginning of the 15th century.

The 13th leader of the Mādhhī sect was Lakṣmī Tīrtha. He was born about the middle of the 14th century and lived to a good old age. We do not credit the story to be found in some old Vaisṇava biographies that Nityānanda ever met him during his tour. Nityānanda was born in 1477 A.D.

It was Mādhavendra Purī, the 14th Guru of the Order, whose influence was the greatest in Bengal. He was most probably a Bengali and the reasons for such an assumption I have already stated in an earlier chapter. He made many disciples in Bengal of whom the following rose to distinction :—

1. Pundarīka Vidyānidhi, a Vārendra Brāhmaṇī and a Zemindar of Chakraçālā in Chittagong. He had also a residential house at Nadiyā. He is said to have been a man of extensive charity and his wife Ratnāvatī was also distinguished for her chaste and noble life. Chaitanya had a high regard for Pundarīka Vidyānidhi ; he usually addressed him as father.<sup>1</sup>

2. Advaitāchārya. It is said that Mādhavendra Purī visited Advaita at his house at Cāntipur. The first meeting between them had, however, taken place at Vṛndāvana.

<sup>1</sup> This is mentioned in many of the Vaisṇava biographical works, particularly in the Chaitanya Bhagavata by Vṛndāvana Dāsa.

3. Nityānanda, during his tour in Southern India, is said to have met Mādhavendra Purī at Črī Parvata and was deeply impressed by his ecstasies of love.

4. Mādhava Miṭra of Belati in the district of Dacca. He was a fellow student of Pundarīka and passed many years in Chittagong. He is, however, chiefly known as the father of Gadādhar Miṭra, one of the constant associates of Chaitanya at Nadiyā.

5. Īśvara Purī, the Guru who initiated Chaitanya into the doctrinal portion of Vaiṣṇavism.

6. Keçava Bhāratī *alias* Kālināth Āchārya, who ministered to the rituals of Chaitanya's *sannyāsa*.

All these men were much older than Chaitanya, excepting Nityānanda, who was older than Chaitanya by nine years only, and had accepted the doctrines of the Mādhavāchārya sect long before Chaitanya did so.

These men gathered round Chaitanya and proclaimed the triumph of the Māddhi sect in Bengal, though Chaitanya turned the views of the sect altogether into a new channel recognising the beauty and superiority of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, already popularised by the poems of Jayadeva, Vidyāpati and Chāndīdāsa, in the country. The new features introduced in this way have given to this faith, originally derived from the Deccan, the stamp of Bengali genius.

While all these men and hundreds of others that gathered round Chaitanya were mystics, the Master was as it were the rose in a garden of flowers. He proved that without speech, without self-assertion, without victories won in public debates he could irresistibly attract hundreds of souls by the beauty of life alone. During 24 years of his life Chaitanya saw the vision of Kṛṣṇa and sang and wept over the unspeakable charm of this experience in his soul, showing altogether a new and strange source of joy to the multitude who had hitherto fruitlessly knocked at the iron-doors of the materialistic world in their pursuit after happiness. He fell in love with that Arch-poet whose creation of fancy this world is, and his life turned to a love lyric to be read as a commentary on the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs, which are as plentiful in Bengal as her field-flowers.

### *XXXII.—The Shrine of Vrndāvana.*

We have not dwelt in these lectures upon a great work that was achieved by Chaitanya's followers on his initiative, *viz.*, the bringing of the old Vrndāvana to the fore-front of Indian shrines. Chaitanya had once addressed the God of his love and said, as I have quoted elsewhere in course of these lectures, "I see Thee here, and here do I enjoy the happy union which is ever new to me, yet does Vrndāvana charm

my fancy". The preference to Vṛndāvana which Chaitanya indicated in the above words was probably meant to give to his followers a localised place of sanctity for the culture of faith. In consequence, all the spots associated with the incidents of Kṛṣṇa's life from the time he was brought to Vṛndāvana down to his final departure, were identified by his followers ; and these turned in course of a few years into sacred shrines.

Vṛndāvana was, of course, an ancient Hindu shrine. Mathurā was a great centre of Buddhist activity as early as the 2nd century B. C. Mr. Growse, however, denies that Vṛndāvana was ever noted as a reputed seat of the Buddhists. Of late years some images of the Budhhā have been discovered there, proving that the Buddhists had also erected temples at that place in ancient times.

But to the Hindus, especially the Vaiṣṇavas, the place was a sacred one from times immemorial. In comparatively modern times we find Rāmānuja paying a visit to Vṛndāvana in the 11th century. Mādhavendra Puri, Advaita and Nityānanda had visited it before Chaitanya did. The place lay neglected in the midst of a deep jungle. The enthusiastic recognition of it by Chaitanya, however, led to its fresh glorification and advancement. Rūpa, Sanātana, Lokanātha, Jīva and Raghunātha spent a great part of their lives in this

shrine at the command of the Master, studying the holy texts and leading exemplary lives of unstained purity. This drew the attention of the whole Indian community to the place. Magnificent buildings rose where once isolated huts had stood in the clearings of old forests, and some of these buildings are unsurpassed in India in point of architectural beauty. At the present day there are more than a thousand temples adorning the town, surrounded, as it is, on three sides by the river Jamunā. It was Rūpa and Sanātana who first invested the old shrine with its new glory. The four earliest temples of Vṛndāvana were built as a tribute of admiration to these Vaiṣṇava worthies and for enshrining the images discovered by them. Chaitanya had first sent Rūpa with this object in view. When Sanātana, Rūpa's, elder brother, being afflicted with eczema, had conceived a desire of committing suicide, Chaitanya suspecting the wish in Sanātana took him to task for cherishing such an unholy idea. He said that as Sanātana had already dedicated his soul and body to him, he had no right over them. Chaitanya required him to go to Vṛndāvana and work in the cause of its restoration to its ancient glory as well as in that of propagating the true religion of love, by writing books on Vaiṣṇava theology. Thus did Sanātana leave Puri and go to Vṛndāvana where Chaitanya himself met the two brothers and directed their work in 1510.

Not only did the influence of the Vaiṣṇava worthies manifest itself in investing the shrine with material glories but the presence of the scholars and devotees served to turn it into a reputed centre of learning which drew scholars from all parts of India. In Vṛndāvana Sanātana, Rūpa and their nephew Jīva wrote their great classical works in Sanskrit which will be dealt with in my lectures as Reader to this University. I shall there treat of the wonderful activities which characterised these Vaiṣṇavas in Vṛndāvana, and their achievements in theology, poetry, rhetoric and jurisprudence. Not only did the followers of Chaitanya muster strong in that ancient shrine, but those who professed the three other creeds amongst the Vaiṣṇavas, as already enumerated, were inspired by Chaitanya and his followers to show great activities and propagate their views from this common centre of Vaiṣṇavism. The followers of Vallabhāchārya specially (called the Gokul Gosains) dwell at the present day in a very considerable number at Vṛndāvana. Many temples of the place belong to this sect. But Vṛndāvana of the present day with her architectural glories, her great learning and the reputation of the unspotted lives of her greatest Vaiṣṇava worthies is essentially marked by the influence of Bengal. It is Chaitanya and his followers who have raised this place of ancient renown from a neglected, forgotten and almost deserted

condition to the magnificence of a city and that of a resort of learning and culture, with associations which are really inspiring to the soul. The subject deserves a more detailed treatment, which I reserve, as I have already stated, for my lectures as University Reader.

### *XXVIII.—The Story of some Pretenders.*

It is a curious fact that some pretenders during Chaitanya's life-time came to pose as religious teachers and declared themselves to have direct messages from God. They thus tried to reach the level of Chaitanya in popular estimation. We have found some of these men trying to assert themselves as incarnations of God chiefly amongst the rural people. They were, as I have stated, all contemporaries of Chaitanya and met with a general rebuff from the enlightened classes.

1. The first of these men was one Vāsudeva, a Brāhmaṇ of the Rādhā Deça, who in inspired speeches, listened to by a great multitude, declared himself to be no other than Kṛṣṇa himself. The Vaiṣṇavas gave him the nick

Vāsudeva.

name of *Çīyāla*--a fox. If we

take the account of the standard biographical works of the Vaiṣṇavas as true, he was despised by the upper classes of the Hindu community.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “তেমাত্তু কশ্চিদ্বিজ বাসুদেবঃ  
গোপালদেবঃ পশুপাত্ৰহোহঃ”

2. In Eastern Bengal a man of undoubted powers named Viṣṇu Dāsa tried to prove that he was an incarnation of Rāma. His title was Kavīndra, the prince of poets, but they made,  
a pun on the word and called  
 Kapīndra, him ‘Kapīndra’—the prince of monkeys. He also appealed to the lower classes, some of whom believed what he said and became his followers. He was a Kāyastha by birth.<sup>1</sup>

3. Mādhava<sup>2</sup> was the priest in a certain temple belonging to a Rājā. He is said to have stolen golden ornaments from the temple and fled away. Latterly he settled in a place in Eastern Bengal inhabited mostly by the Goyālās

ଏବଂ ଶି ବିଷ୍ଣୁପଦ୍ୟତ୍ଵଂ ପ୍ରାପ୍ନୀ  
ଶୃଗାଳ ମଞ୍ଜାଂ ମସବାପ ବାଚେ ।”

The Gaurāṅga Chandrika

ଆବ ଏକ କାଷଟ୍ ପାପୀ ନାମ ବିଷ୍ଣୁଦାମ ।  
ଆପନି ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟ ବଲେ କରଯେ ପ୍ରକାଶ ॥  
ବୋଲେ ଆମି ରୂପାମ ବୈକୁଞ୍ଚ ହଟେ ।  
ଦ୍ୱାରା ଉଦ୍‌ଧାରିତେ ଉପାସିତ ଅବନୀତେ ॥  
ଶୃଗାଳ ଅଶ୍ରୁଦାମ ଦାତ କପିଗଣ ।  
ମକଳ ଆମାର ଭାଙ୍ଗ ଦାନ ମର୍ଦଜନ ॥  
ନାନା ଡାଲେ ଲୋକ ନାହିଁ କରେ ହରାଚାବ ।  
କଦମ୍ବ ବନ୍ଦୀଯା ନାମ ଛଟିଲ ତାହାବ ॥

The Prema Vilāsa.

ମାତ୍ରବ ନାମ ବିପ କୋନ ରାଜାର ପ୍ରଜାବି ।  
ଶୌଣିଗହବ ଅଳକ୍ଷର ନିଲ ଚରି କରି ॥  
କୋନ ଥାନେ ଗୋପେର ପାତ୍ରୀର ଚଲି ଗେଲ ।  
ଗୋଯାନାର ପୌବୋଚିତ୍ୟ କବିତେ ଲାଗିଲ ॥  
କାମ୍ଯୁକ ପାପିତ ତଥି କାଚି ଚଢ଼ାଦାରୀ ।  
ଆପନାରେ ଗାୟତ୍ରୀ କୃଷ୍ଣ ନାରାୟଣ କରି ।  
ବୋଲେ ଆମି ଚାନ୍ଦାଧାରୀ କୃଷ୍ଣ ନାରାୟଣ ।  
ଆମାଯେ ଭଜିଲେ ଯାବେ ବୈକୁଞ୍ଚ ଭୁବନ ॥

(milkmen). Kṛṣṇa, it should be remembered, was in his early life associated with the milkmen of Vṛndāvana. So that the Goyālās were all worshippers of Kṛṣṇa. Mādhava

Chūḍādhārī.

lived amongst this class of men and tried to impose upon the unassuming country-folk as the god Kṛṣṇa himself. He said that he was Kṛṣṇa and had come into this world again out of his love for the community of milkmen and this he asserted with such eloquence and scholarship that illiterate people took him for what he said. He imitated the amours of Kṛṣṇa with Gopis and had a large following of low class women. With the milk-women he sported, danced and sang even as Kṛṣṇa himself is said

গোপগোবীগণ তার একান্ত অধীন ।  
গোপ গোপী লক্ষ্ম সদা নষ্টন কীর্তন ॥  
চূড়াধারী কাচি গোয়ালিনী লক্ষ্ম লীলা ।  
চূড়াধারী নমে ইথে বিখ্যাত হইলা ॥  
চূড়ান্তি যত অস্যজের নারীগণ ।  
কৃষ্ণলীলাছলে \* \* \* \* ॥  
কোন দিন মাধব নারীগণ করি সঙ্গে ।  
নীলাচলে উপস্থিত হইলেক রঞ্জে ॥  
চূড়াধারী কাচি মাধব নারীগণ সনে ।  
মহাপ্রভুর সংক্ষীর্তনে করিলা গমনে ॥  
প্রভু কহে ইহা কোন আইল চূড়াধারী ।  
নারীগণ লক্ষ্ম গেলে ধর্মনাশ করি ॥  
ওহে ভক্তগণ চূড়াধারী ধর্মপ্রষ্ট ।  
যে দেশে করিবে বাস দেশ হবে নষ্ট ॥  
ইহো অপরাধী পতিত মৃথ না দেখিবা ।  
পুরুষোত্তম হইতে শীত্র তাড়াইয়া দিবা ॥  
শুনি ভক্তগণ তারে তাড়াইয়া দিলা ।  
চূড়াধারী পলাইয়া বঙ্গদেশে গেলা ॥

to have done. Even the women of the Chandāla class were admitted to his Order. He used to make a sort of crown with his braided hair. This is called the *Chūḍā* in the popular language. Those who followed him were accordingly called *Chūḍādhāris*—the wearers of *Chūḍā*. It is said that at one time he paid a visit to Puri when Chaitanya was there. Mādhava took his female companions with him and wanted to join the religious procession of Chaitanya. But he, when he saw this man with his following of women, shrank back from him and said “Who is this fellow that cometh with women to join our company, upsetting all rules of moral conduct and purity? This fellow is an impostor, he will ruin people by the example of his unrestrained conduct.” He forbade the pious people around him to mix with the *Chūḍādhāris*. The Vaiśavas turned this infamous leader away from Puri, probably with the help of Pratāpa Rudra, the king of the place.

We find reference to these men in the Chaitanya Bhāgavata, Chaitanyacharitāmṛta, Prema-vilāsa and other works written in the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. This proves that these impostors really possessed a considerable influence since they were worthy of mention by the biographers of Chaitanya, by whom, however, they were strongly condemned.

In the West examples of religious pretenders are by no means rare. Many have no doubt heard of the American Joseph Smith who even in the 19th century could be so audaciously bold as to announce a revelation authorising him and all those whom he should license to take an unlimited number of wives. Joseph Smith (born 1805 A. D.) claimed a large number of followers who accepted him as infallible by divine authority.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> History of Christian Churches and sects by the Rev. J. B. Marsden (1856) Vol. II. pp. 83-88.

THE END



## OPINIONS

### "HISTORY OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE" (IN ENGLISH)

BY

RAI SAHIB DINESH CHANDRA SEN, B.A.

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BANGA SAHITYA PARICHAYA  
OR  
TYPICAL SELECTIONS FROM OLD  
BENGALI LITERATURE  
BY  
**Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen, B.A.**

2 vols. pp. 1911, Royal 8vo, with an Introduction in English running over 99 pages, published by the University of Calcutta  
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monuments of Bengali poetic art, the chief popular presses have published great masses on literary matter, chiefly religious verse. It can hardly be said that these piles of written and printed matter have ever been subjected to a critical or philological scrutiny. Their very existence was barely known to the Europeans, even to those who have studied the Bengali Language on the spot. Educated Bengalis themselves, until quite recent times, have been too busy with the arts and sciences of Europe to spare much time for indigenous treasures. That was the reason why we suggested the compiling of a critical chrestomathy for the benefit not only of European but of native scholars. The University of Calcutta prompted by the eminent scholar Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, then Vice-Chancellor, had already anticipated this need it seems. It had shrunk (rightly, we think) from the enormous and expensive task of printing the MSS. recovered by the diligence and generosity of Mr. Sen and other inquirers and employed Mr. Sen to prepare the two bulky volumes now before us. The Calcutta Senate is to be congratulated on its enterprise and generosity."

From a review in The **Athenæum**, January 16, 1915—"We have already reviewed Mr. Sen's History of Bengali Language and Literature and have rendered some account of his previous work in Bengali entitled *Banga Bhasa O Shaktiya*. Mr. Sen now supplies the means of checking his historical and critical conclusions in a copious collection of Bengali verse. Here are the materials, carefully arranged and annotated with a skill and learning such as probably no one else living can command."

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THE  
VAISNAVA LITERATURE OF MEDIÆVAL BENGAL

(*Being lectures delivered as Reader to the University of Calcutta*)

BY

RAJ SAHIB DINESH CHANDRA SEN, B.A.

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WITH A PREFACE BY

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OPINIONS.

**Sir George Grierson:**—Very valuable book .... I am reading it with the greatest interest and am learning much from it.

**William Rothenstein.** I was delighted with your book, I cannot tell you how touched I am to be reminded of that side of your beloved country which appeals to me most—a side of which I was able to perceive something during my own too short visit to India. In the faces of the best of your countrymen I was able to see that spirit of which you write so charmingly in your book, the spirit which animated Chaitanya Deva and his followers. Through your book I am able to recall these faces and figures as clearly as if they were before me. I hear the tinkle of the temple-bells along the ghats of Benares, the voices of the women as they sing their sacred songs crossing the noble river in the boats at sunset and I sit once more with the anstere Sanyasin friends I shall never, I fear, see more. But though I shall not look upon the face of India again, the vision I had of it will fill my eyes through life, and the love I feel for your country will remain to enrich my own vision of life, so long as I am capable of using it. Though I can only read you in English, the spirit in which you write is to me so true an Indian spirit, that it shines through our own idiom, and carries me, I said before, straight to the banks of your sacred rivers, to the bathing tanks and white shrines and temples of your well remembered villages and tanks. So once more I send you my thanks for the magic carpet you sent me, upon which my soul can return to your dear land. May the songs of which you write to me remain to fill this land with their fragrance; you will have need of them, in the years before you, as we have need of all that is best in the songs of our own seers in the dark waters through which we are steering.

**From a long review in the Times Literary Supplement,  
2nd August, 1917.**

The Vaisnava Literature of Mediaeval Bengal. By Rai Sahib Dineschandra Sen. (Calcutta :—The University.)

Though the generalization that all Hindus not belonging to modern reform movements are Saivas or Vaishnavas is much too wide, there are the two main divisions in the bewildering mass of sects which make up the 217,000,000 of Hindus, and at many points they overlap each other. The attempts made in the 1901 Census to collect information regarding sects led to such unsatisfactory and partial results that they were not repeated in the last decennial enumeration. But it is unquestionable that the Vaishnavas—the worshippers of Krishna—are dominant in Bengal, owing to the great success of the reformed cult established by Chaitanya, a contemporary of Martin Luther. The doctrine of Bhakti or religious devotion, which he taught still flourishes in Bengal, and the four lectures of the Reader to the University of Calcutta in Bengali here reproduced provide an instructive guide to its expression in the literature of the country during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first third of the book is devoted to the early period of Vaisnava literature, dating from the eleventh century, and to the life and work of the reformer.

The Rai Sahib is filled with a most patriotic love of his nation and its literature, and has done more than any contemporary countryman to widen our knowledge of them. His bulky volume recording the history of Bengali Language and Literature from the earliest times to the middle of the nineteenth century is accepted by Orientalists as the most complete and authoritative work on the subject. The industry and learning displayed therein and in his thought is still dominant in modern Bengali literature not directly Vaisnava in import.

Subsequent "Banga Sahitya Parichaya" "Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature", are also shown in the present small volume. It forms a useful pendant to them, and on some points modifies or corrects, in the light of further research, some of his previous conclusions. There is refreshing ingenuousness in his claim, "my industry has been great", and the "forbearing indulgence" for which he asks if he has failed from any lack of powers will readily be granted in view of an enthusiasm for his subject which somewhat narrows the strictly critical value of his estimates, but does not impair the sustained human interest of the book.

Chaitanya clearly taught, as these pages show, that the Krishna of the Mahabharata, the great chieftain and ally of the Pandava brothers, was not the Krishna of Brindaban. The latter, said the reformer, 'Rupa, the author

of those masterpieces of Sanskrit drama, the *Vidagdha Madhava* and the *Lalita Madhava*, was love's very self and an embodiment of sweetness : and the more material glories of Mathura should not be confused with the spiritual conquests of Brindaban. The amours of Krishna with Radha and the milkmaids of Brindaban are staple themes of the literature associated with the worship of the God of the seductive flute. But Mr. Sen repeatedly insists that the love discussed in the literature he has so closely studied is spiritual and mystic, although usually presented in sensuous garb. Chaitanya who had frequent ecstasies of spiritual joy ; Rupa, who classified the emotions of love in 360 groups and the other author whose careers here traced were hermits of unspotted life and religious devotion. The old passionate desire for union which they taught is still dominant in modern Bengali literature not directly Vaisnava in import. As Mr. J. D. Anderson points out in his preface, the influence of Chaitanya's teaching may be detected in the mystical verses of Tagore.



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